

171

Review of INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

124

<i>Vladimir BAKARIĆ</i>	BIRTHDAY OF THE PRESIDENT TITO
<i>Vladimir SIMIĆ</i>	INTERPARLIAMENTARY COOPERATION
<i>Jovan ĐORĐEVIĆ</i>	CLASSES AND POLITICAL PARTIES
<i>L. ERVEN</i>	THE WARSAW TREATY
<i>Hellmut KALBITZER</i>	THE PSYCHOSIS OF SECURITY
<i>R. NIKETIĆ</i>	INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION AND PRICES
<i>Andrija PREGER</i>	VISITS OF FOREIGN MUSICIANS
<i>Aleksa ĆELEBONOVIĆ</i>	YUGOSLAV SCULPTURE TODAY

DECLARATION OF THE FPYU AND THE USSR

Review of INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Edited by:
THE EDITORIAL BOARD

Chief Editor:
RADE VLKOV

Published by
THE FEDERATION OF YUGOSLAV JOURNALISTS

CONTENTS:

DECLARATION OF THE FPY AND THE USSR — — — — —	1
BIRTHDAY OF THE PRESIDENT TITO — Vladimir Bakarić — — —	3
INTERPARLIAMENTARY COOPERATION — Vladimir Simić — — —	5
THE PSYCHOSIS OF SECURITY — Hellmut Kalbitzer — — — — —	6
CLASSES AND POLITICAL PARTIES — Jovan Djordjević — — — —	8
THE WARSAW TREATY — L. Erven — — — — —	10
INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION AND PRICES — R. Niketić — — — —	13
VISITS OF FOREIGN MUSICIANS — Andrija Preger — — — — —	17
YUGOSLAV SCULPTURE TODAY — Aleksa Čelebonović — — — —	19

OUR AGENCIES ABROAD FOR THE ENGLISH EDITION:

U S A

Universal Distributors Co.
52-54 West 14th Street

NEW YORK 11

World Events

EAST PALATKA — FLORIDA

E N G L A N D

Lange Maxwell & Springer Ltd.
41-45 Neal Street

LONDON W. C. 2

I S R A E L

Ignjatović Flora
Musrara 59/II

JERUSALEM

C U B A

Agencia de publicaciones madiedo
O'Reilly 407

HABANA

Diamond News Co.
San Martin 8

HABANA

Declaration of the Governments of the FPRY and the USSR

THE Delegation of the Government of the FPRY composed of Josip Broz Tito, President of the FPRY, Edvard Kardelj, Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council, Aleksandar Ranković, Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council, Svetozar Vukmanović-Tempo, Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council, Mijalko Todorović, Member of the Federal Executive Council, Koča Popović, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the FPRY, Veljko Mićunović, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and the Delegation of the Government of the USSR, composed of N. S. Khrushchev, Member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and First Secretary of the CC of the CP of the USSR, N. A. Bulganin, President of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, A. I. Mikoyan, First Deputy of the President of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, D. T. Shepilov, Chairman of the Commission for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Member of the CC of the CP of the USSR and Editor-in-Chief of the newspaper "Pravda", A. A. Gromyko, First Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, P. M. Kumikin, Deputy Minister for Foreign Trade of the USSR, conducted talks in Belgrade and Brioni from May 27 to June 2nd 1955. In the course of the talks, which were conducted in a spirit of friendship and mutual understanding, there took place an exchange of opinions on international problems of interest to Yugoslavia and the USSR as well as a comprehensive consideration of questions relating to the political, economic and cultural relations between the two countries.

I

The talks had, as their starting point, the mutual desire of both Governments that, in the interest of the peaceful solution of international questions and strengthening of cooperation among peoples and states, the method of negotiations should be applied.

The peoples of the two countries and their armed forces have, in particular, developed friendship and fighting cooperation in the years of the war which they waged, alongside other freedom loving nations, against the Fascist invaders.

The two Governments have agreed to take further steps toward the normalization of their relations and the promotion of cooperation between the two countries, convinced that this lies in the interest of the peoples of the two countries and is a contribution both to the easing of international tension and to the strengthening of peace in the world.

In the course of the negotiations the Governments of the two countries displayed a sincere endeavour towards the further development of the cooperation between the FPRY and the USSR in all fields, which is fully in conformity with the interests of the two countries as well as with those of Peace and Socialism and for which objective conditions exist today.

In their consideration of the questions dealt with in the course of the talks and with a view to the strengthening of confidence and cooperation among nations, the two Governments have started from the following principles:

The indivisibility of Peace upon which alone collective security can rest;

Respect for the sovereignty, independence, integrity and for equality among States in their mutual relations and in their relations with other States;

Recognition and development of peaceful coexistence among nations regardless of ideological differences or differences of social order which presupposes the cooperation of all States in the field of international relations in general, and more particularly in the field of economic and cultural relations;

Abiding by the principle of mutual respect for, and non-interference in, internal affairs for whatever reason, whether of an economic, political or ideological nature, because questions of internal organization, of different so-



President Tito, Khrushchev and Bulganin in the Brioni Island

cial systems and of different forms of socialist development are solely the concern of the individual countries;

The furtherance of mutual and international economic cooperation, and the removal of all those factors in economic relations which impede the exchange of goods and hamper the development of productive forces both in the world and within the national economies;

Assistance through the appropriate UN bodies as well as in other forms which are in accordance with the principles of the United Nations, both to the national economies and to the economically underdeveloped areas in the interest of the peoples of those areas and of the development of the world economy.

The elimination of every form of propaganda and disinformation, as well as of other forms of conduct which create distrust or in any other way, impede the establishing of an atmosphere conducive to constructive international cooperation and to the peaceful coexistence of nations.

Condemnation of all aggression and of all attempts to subject other countries to political and economic domination;

The recognition that the policy of military blocs increases international tension, undermines confidence among nations and augments the danger of war.

II

The two Governments base their policy on the principles set forth in the United Nations Charter and are in agreement that further efforts should be made to strengthen the role and the authority of the United Nations, and this would, in particular be confirmed by giving the P. R. of China the representation to which it is entitled in the UN. The admission to membership in the Organization of all the other countries which meet the requirements of the United Nations Charter would also be of significance.

The two Governments are agreed that all nations should make further efforts to achieve positive results and agreements in negotiations on questions so vital for the peace of the world as the reduction and limitation of armaments and the prohibition of atomic weapons, the establishment of a general system of collective security including a system of collective security in Europe based on agreement, the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

Through such efforts an atmosphere would be created which would at the same time make possible a solution by peaceful means, of such urgent problems of the first importance as that of an agreed settlement of the German question on a democratic basis in conformity both with the wishes and interests of the German people and with the interests of general security, the satisfaction of the legitimate rights of the P. R. of China with regard to Taiwan.

The two Governments welcome the results of the Bandung Conference as a significant contribution to the idea of international cooperation as support of the efforts of the peoples of Asia and Africa towards the strengthening of their political and economic independence, and consider that all this contributes to the strengthening of world peace.

III

Full attention has been given to an analysis of the relations between the two countries up to the present, and to the prospects of their further development. Bearing in mind that, in recent years the mutual relations have been gravely disturbed and that this has been detrimental both to the parties concerned, and to international cooperation, firmly resolved to conduct their future relations in a spirit of friendly cooperation and on the basis of the principles set forth in the present Declaration, the Governments of the FPRY and of the USSR have agreed to the following:

1. To take all necessary measures for the establishing of normal treaty conditions which will provide a base for regulating and securing the normal development of relations with the aim of extending cooperation between the two countries in all the fields in which the two countries are interested.

2. With regard to the need of strengthening economic ties and expanding economic cooperation between the two countries.

With this aim in view, the two Governments have agreed to take the measures necessary to do away with the consequences arising from the disruption of a normal treaty



The signing of the Declaration

conditions in the economic relations between the two countries.

They have also agreed to proceed with the conclusion of the necessary arrangements, including the long-term ones, designed to regulate and facilitate the development of economic relations in the above direction.

3. For the purpose of furthering cultural relations, the two Governments have expressed their readiness to sign a convention on cultural cooperation.

4. Attaching great importance to informing public opinion of the development of friendly cooperation among nations and desiring public opinion to be accurately and objectively informed, the two Governments have agreed as to the necessity of signing a convention concerning information services in the spirit of UN decisions and on a basis of reciprocity with regard to the position and the privileges of the officials of these services on the territories of each of the contracting parties.

5. Endorsing the recommendations of the UN concerning the promotion of cooperation among all countries in the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, which is of vital significance for the strengthening of peace and for progress in the world, the two Governments have agreed to establish mutual cooperation in this field.

6. The two Governments have agreed to take measures for the conclusion of a treaty for the purpose of settling questions of nationality, and with regard to the repatriation of nationals of one contracting party residing in the territory of the other party. Both Governments have agreed that such treaties should be based on respect for humanitarian principles as well as on the universally accepted principle of the free decision of the persons concerned.

The two Governments have also agreed with regard to the safeguarding of the rights in the protection of the nationals of the other party in their territory, including the right of the said nationals to keep the nationality which they possessed prior to their arrival in the territory of the other contracting party.

7. In the spirit of the peace-loving principles set forth in the present Declaration and in order to make it possible for the peoples of their countries to become better acquainted and achieve better mutual understanding, the two Governments have agreed to assist and facilitate cooperation among the social organizations of the two countries through the establishing of contacts, the exchange of Socialist experiences and a free exchange of opinions.

The two Governments have agreed to make every effort towards the carrying out of the tasks and decisions set forth in the present Declaration in the interest of the further development of mutual relations and in that of the furtherance of international cooperation and the strengthening of peace in the world.

For the Government of the
Federative People's Repu-
blic of Yugoslavia Presi-
dent of the Republic

Josip Broz-Tito

For the Government of the
Union of Soviet Socialist
Republics

President of the Council of
Ministers of the USSR

N. A. Bulganin

63-rd BIRTHDAY OF THE PRESIDENT TITO

Vladimir BAKARIĆ

President of the People's Assembly of Croatia

TITO

THIS is the eleventh time since the liberation that we have celebrated the birthday of our President — Tito. Every year we have been celebrating it with greater joy, with deeper and fuller satisfaction. For every year has brought us new successes, new hopes and new awareness of his merits. After years of successful work of the Party and its preparations for revolutionary struggles, after years of war and armed conflicts, came these ten years of successes in socialist development, years of struggle for a better future — all under his direct leadership.

In reviewing, on his birthday, the successes achieved, it is not necessary to review the life work of Comrade Tito in order to understand why his name is so deeply embedded in the hearts of our people. It would be sufficient to review his work and achievements during only one year — between two successive celebrations of his birthday.

This in no way implies that what was achieved in the past, has been forgotten, for the past achievements have become the treasure of every one of us. But we need not be reminded about them, because they have become the foundation upon which we are building our future, the background against which we view the work of Comrade Tito.

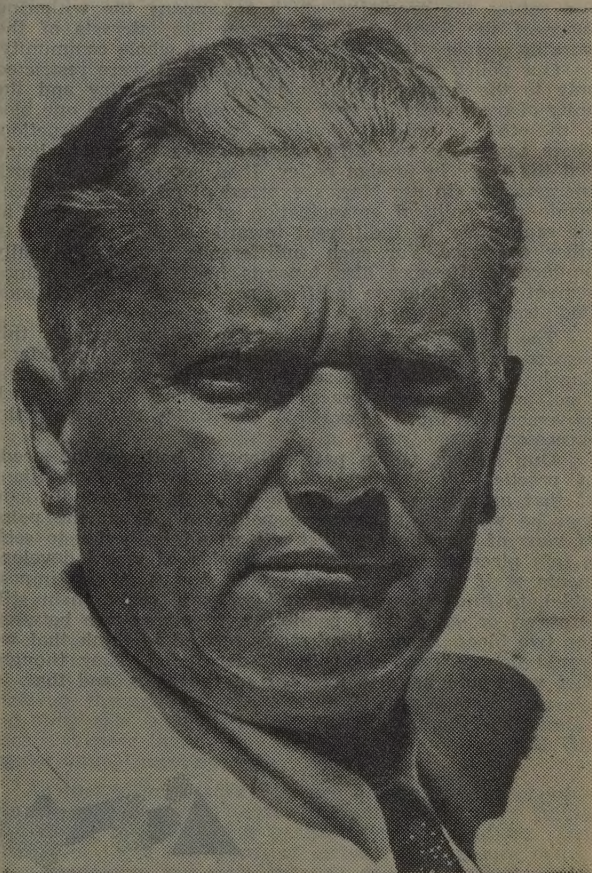
Today every Yugoslav considers Tito's activities in the preparation of the people for hard struggles, his guidance of the liberation war and revolution, to be, in one way or another, also "his own work". For at that time Tito not only appraised correctly the political and social developments, built a force which was to be the pillar of the revolutionary movement and, later, in the liberation war, displayed extraordinary courage and faith in the final victory, but he aroused in men revolutionary, freedom-loving and humane feelings, and armed them with ideas which enabled them to act and work with greater success. It was through his ability to inspire people that our powerful revolutionary movement developed, that we all became proud of the contribution we made to the successes achieved and victories won.

It was through these victories that we became men, that Yugoslavia became a political factor on the world stage, and raised herself from the obscurity of a backward, semi-colonial country — the homeland of the poor and the prison of the people.

It is clear to all that whenever Yugoslavia is mentioned, it is Tito's Yugoslavia that is referred to. It is also clear that whenever Tito is mentioned to a Yugoslav he considers that he himself has been mentioned also. For every one considers himself to be, not only Tito's pupil,

a child respecting teacher and father, but also a component part of that same Tito.

The past year was the logical continuation of Tito's work, a year which witnessed the fruits and successes of a persistent and just policy. Tito conducted a series of



talks, exchanged opinions with other statesmen, and formulated with them joint views on important political problems. The successes of his policy in the past year ranged from a formal alliance with Greece and Turkey and closer ties with Ethiopia, India, Burma and Egypt, to the announcement of the visit of a Soviet delegation to our country. The Yugoslav people back-up this policy heart and soul, because it is not only a policy of establishing good relations with other people, a policy of strengthening our independence and position in the world, but also a component part of the general struggle for the further emancipation of men.

At present the working people of the world are taking part in all phases of social and political life. This is a complex problem and it manifests itself in various forms. It forces the ruling classes to make concessions, and to demand that the working masses be represented in all organs of government. As a result, the policy of „full employment“ has been accepted throughout the western world, the living standard has been rapidly raised (in Sweden and Belgium) and the workers are taking part in the management of industrial enterprises.

It is no longer necessary to emphasize Tito's role in this process in our country. By applying his idea "the factories to the workers", and by developing new forms of social government in all fields of activity, this process has gone further in our country than anywhere else. Our country has shown the road for the settlement of a problem which has long been troubling the socialist movements of the world. This problem is how to nationalize the means of production without strengthening the state capitalist order, or some other kind of etatism, and, at the same time, to ensure the participation of the working people in all spheres of economic life. The settlement of this problem also settles the problems which accompany the withering away of the State, and harmonizes the interests of the working people with the interests of the whole community.

Our policy would not be complete if it were restricted only to the further development of our country and the unity of our people, or if it were to oscillate from one bloc to the other in order to preserve our internal construction. There cannot be two different principles — one in home and the other in foreign policy. It is not possible to work energetically (to use Marx's expression) on the social, economic and political emancipation of the masses, and, at the same time, be indifferent towards similar processes in other countries. For such indifference would gradually produce indifference also towards home affairs. No movement should tolerate indifference, because it would soon find itself in the position of the outmanoeuvred.

The development of our foreign policy can in this respect be compared only with best writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin on the revolutionary movements of their time, and with their practical endeavours to assist such movements as much as possible. Our policy is their worthy successor.

Our foreign policy pays attention both to the needs of practical day-to-day politics, and to the foundations of that activity in referring to which Marx proudly said that he was not a „practical politician“. From the point of view of "practical politics", it would be better to seek a safe place somewhere on the leaside of world developments or if that is impossible (and for us it was impossible), to find strong allies and work to make them still stronger, or, as a third possibility, to manoeuvre between the two blocs. At one time many seemed to think that we would do as "practical politics" demanded. They thought that we would have to join one of the blocs, and that, in

doing so, we would choose the lesser evil, i.e., the bloc in which we would have greater freedom. But in the most critical period after the war, Tito said that we did not recognize that the world was divided into two blocs, although there were people who wanted to divide it into two parts. The past year has proved that he was in the right. It has shown the strength of Tito's „unrealistic“ and „illogical“ policy.

At the time of the greatest pressure upon us it was, no doubt, „unrealistic“ not to seek to join the other bloc, even if there were people in that bloc who were ready to let us fend for ourselves. It was „illogical“ to conclude alliances with members of the Atlantic Pact without asking to be admitted to that Pact. And, further, it was „unpromising“ to display publicly sympathy for the national movements in Ethiopia, Egypt, India, Burma, and other countries which are not important military factors.

But such „unrealistic“, „illogical“ and „senseless“ acts were stronger weapons than all the realistic moves. It can be said today that the „non-bloc“ policy of our country has weakened the pressure of the Soviet Union, brought about improvement in our mutual relations, and so enabled us to approach talks for still further improvement, on the basis of non-interference in the affairs of other people. Recent events have shown that the Asian and African countries, which until a few years ago were silent figures on the world stage, are now becoming important factors in world affairs. The past year was a real epoch in that development. This shows that a new era is beginning in human history, an era in which all countries must become real factors on the world stage, in which the division of the world by the leading powers will become an anachronism. The policy of blocs, whether one likes it or not, supports that anachronism, and so represents a new form of the struggle for the division of the world.

One of the characteristics of these new nations is that they all have widely developed mass movements. That they adopt progressive programmes in raising their living standards and in ensuring the participation of the masses in social life, so that they are rapidly liquidating the backward legacies of the past. Consequently, they cannot be governed in the old way.

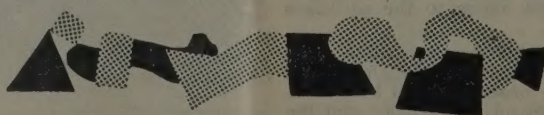
This new emancipation, which involves great masses, today opposes bloc politics, and seeks better perspectives for the future, better ways of cooperation and peace between peoples. It therefore exerts great moral pressure in that direction. And, as it develops, that pressure is becoming increasingly stronger.

It is our socialist duty not only to sympathize, but also to cooperate with the forces which are, together with us, fighting for the causes of the present day. These forces draw their strength from the present reality, and they must win. We cannot rely on the past, no matter how strong it may seem, for that would in the end deprive us of the achievements of our revolution.

The strength of Tito's personality lies in the fact that he has understood the tendencies of the present-day world, and so led us towards progress. Yes, this is Marxism — not distorted Marxism, which tries to govern the masses in the name of ideas, but Marxism in its real sense, which understands people in their practical activities, in their wishes and their endeavours, and so helps them to change the world.

Tito is, therefore, not merely a man, but the Man of the Present. He is, therefore, respected by people all over the world.

Long may he live!



OPINIONS ON CURRENT PROBLEMS

Vladimir SIMIC

Vice-President of the Federal People's Assembly

SIGNIFICANCE OF INTERPARLIAMENTARY COOPERATION

A retrospective analysis, especially if centred on the development of the political history of the European peoples during the last few decades, would lead, without much difficulty, to the conclusion which is supported by plenty of data, that this development is characterized by the constant strengthening of the general initiative, influence and concentration of power of the governments in relation to their parliaments. Especially in the affairs arising from international relations, and in connexion with this also in the pursuance of foreign policy, the control of parliament was being more and more reduced to the scope of foreign affairs committees, while those conventions and other international documents whose ratification either fully depended on the government or called for an act of the government for its ratification, were becoming more and more numerous. It should also be borne in mind that international agreements, conventions and other documents were always the result of a procedure in which the parliaments take no part, so that the act of ratification itself, even when carried out by the parliament, was reduced to an ordinary formality, or as an exception, because of the relations prevailing in the parliament, this matter could be brought up as one connected with the question of confidence to the government.

In this regard the motives which as early as 1899 induced the founders of the Interparliamentary Union to take steps for the creation of this international organization are quite characteristic, just as one can find an instructive example in the fact that this organization, which is among the oldest extant, has maintained itself and developed more and more, despite very unfavourable conditions in international relations, as a result of which two world wars occurred during the life time of a single generation. Article 1 of the Statute of this organization (which underwent no changes or amendments) reads as follows:

„The aim of Interparliamentary Union is to stimulate personal contact between members of all parliaments... and to unite them for joint action in the strengthening and maintenance of full cooperation between their respective states for the development of democratic institutions and advancement of efforts towards international peace and mutual cooperation, especially through a universal organization of nations. Having this aim before its eyes, the Interparliamentary Union will also examine and seek solutions for all questions of international character which can be settled by way of parliamentary action, and will give suggestions for the development of parliamentary institutions and the raising of their prestige”.

As will be seen, these aims and tasks, although laid down sixty six years ago, have quite a modern sound. It is clear, therefore, that their creators correctly visualized the course of development of international relations, and especially the need for the elaboration and deepening of

the international law, as well as the possibility of finding solutions for various questions of international character through personal contacts, joint actions, mutual cooperation and development of efforts in the direction of international peace. This is not a question, however, of clairvoyance, but of concrete conditions and international reality, from which the setting of such aims must result, as well as the mobilizing of definite political forces in the efforts for their realization. These conditions spontaneously led to the need for finding wider democratic bases also on the plane of international events, for stimulating international cooperation through direct contacts and consultation, for joint actions and efforts with a view to maintaining and strengthening peace, as well as for discovering new form and contents of the international law on the principle of universality, and on the lines of perfecting the methods and institutions in the life of the general international community of nations. On the other hand, this also showed that the parliamentarians were not satisfied with either the possibilities which existed and were at the disposal of their governments for the realization of these aims, with the position of the parliaments, or with the actual possibilities which presented themselves in the system which was being increasingly consolidated. Hence new roads had to be sought. It was necessary to discover wider bases for the development of the international law, a new practice for settling international questions, mobilization of political forces of as large a number of nations as possible for the exercising of influence on the world public opinion, and for ensuring the political and educational role of these factors among the broad democratic masses in the world — all with a view to ensure „international peace and mutual cooperation”. In all these directions actual successes were scored. This is not the occasion for dwelling at length on this matter, but suffice it to emphasize that there is not a single basic principle of the United Nations Charter that has not been elaborated in detail and popularized by this organization. This was achieved through joint resolutions, declarations, appeals and other acts, which were drawn up in the joint commissions and were the subject of discussion and voting at the regular annual meetings.

Another form of work consisted in stimulating the creation of regional groups inside the Interparliamentary Union as well as in exchanging parliamentary delegations. The purpose of these two forms of activity is to ensure better acquaintanceship and more frequent personal contacts, with a view to creating a favourable atmosphere for mutual understanding and cooperation, as well as for providing greater facilities for the settlement of international questions by peaceful means. In addition to the Benelux group and the group of Scandinavian countries, there exists also the Arab group of countries, while the exchange of parliamentary delegations has become a very frequent occurrence.

Since the Second World War, Yugoslavia alone has exchanged or is going to exchange parliamentary delegations with Great Britain, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Belgium, France, Greece, Turkey, Western Germany, Lebanon, Syria, India, and this number will doubtless be increased during the year. However, although the idea of this form of international cooperation has its origin in the action of the Interparliamentary Union, and although a whole series of mutual visits were made with the participation of the national groups of this international organization, this form of international cooperation has developed beyond its original bounds and become a typical manifestation of modern international conditions.

The most eloquent example of this state of affairs is the case of Yugoslavia. No other country can compare with her, even approximately, as regards the exchange of parliamentary delegation with other countries. It should be added that in all cases involving Yugoslavia, the initiative for the exchange of parliamentary delegations came from outside. The explanation for this is to be found in Yugoslavia's international situation, in her foreign policy, in the basic principles of this policy, that is, in the principles of independence, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, non-aggression, settlement of international questions by peaceful means, and the recognition of the equal rights and duties of countries, whether large or small. As this consistent policy determined more and more the face of Yugoslavia, so the proposals for exchange of parliamentary delegations became more and more frequent. This form of international cooperation necessarily imposed itself as it logically corresponded to the policy of active, positive

and constructive coexistence, and such a policy resulted in the tendency of parliamentary groups to get better acquainted, by way of contacts and direct observation, with all the possibilities of an international order which will guarantee the maintenance of a lasting peace. Hence it may be freely maintained: firstly, that frequent exchanges of parliamentary delegations objectively characterize the state of relaxation of the international tension, and also offer better prospects for the further development of international relations and, secondly, that the policy of active and constructive coexistence is meeting with very positive repercussions in the world public opinion operating in the sense of rapprochement or at least encouraging tendencies for rapprochement of opposite views, and towards the employment of peaceful methods in the settlement of international questions.

As another example we may mention the well-known resolution of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of February 22, 1955 which, *inter alia*, calls upon all parliaments of the world to take steps for mutual rapprochement, exchange of delegations and cooperation. There is no doubt that this attitude on the part of a country which has not been nor is now a member of the Interparliamentary Union, means a causative and inter-dependent relation with what is both new and essential in the historical development and modern conditions of international relations, namely, with the time in which all countries are becoming actual factors in that historical development, and in which the division of the world into spheres of interest, into the strong and weak and into opposing blocs, is slowly becoming a thing of the past.

Hellmut KALBITZER

a Social-Democrat member of the Bundestag

THE PSYCHOSIS OF SECURITY

TEN years since the first atom bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, the world has finally realised that the hitherto existing conceptions of politics and its „continuation by other means“ have lost their value. The „cold war“ however, is threatening to drown this realisation in slogans. Security and alliances have become a bait, and neutrality is now synonymous with fear. At the mere mention of these words, participants in discussions are overwhelmed by a multitude of ideas which only impede the examination of facts and possibilities.

Nevertheless, we presume to offer an explanation: the Paris agreements stipulate that West Germany should join the western military alliance NATO and thereby increase the security of Europe. They anticipate the re-armament of West Germany with certain limitations arising from her peculiar geographical and — by implication — political position. Atomic and other similar modern weapons must not be produced, because the places of production would be too near a potential enemy. The Supreme Command will be in the hands of foreign generals, because — again by implication — the democratic loyalty of the German people is still in doubt. This distrust is indeed bitter for the Germans, but understandable in the light of the history of Europe during the last fifty years. Consequently the arming of West Germany will not be a measure of protection of her own territory, but only one function within the western military alliance. The political importance of West Germany, which has revived because of her remarkable economic progress, will indeed continue to grow, as a result of her arming within the framework of the Western Alliance, but this arming has the specific meaning only within Germany, and in relation to the Soviet Zone of occupation, which is armed by the Eastern bloc.

Since the end of the war there has reigned in Germany a civil „cold war“, which is not the result of a division in the German people, but has been systematically organized by the occupational powers. Its outward manifestation is the Iron Curtain. This tension has been surreptitiously encouraged for about seven years since the formation in the Soviet Zone of the excessively strong „non-military“ forces of the Volkspolizei, with artillery, tanks and a limited air force which, according to classical military standards, can fully be described as an army. However, the Soviet occupational authorities have evidently been extremely cautious with regard to this partial armament of Germany, and so far have not permitted the formation of an army whose striking force would correspond to the most modern ideas.

The arming of the Volkspolizei in the Soviet Zone was the best psychological preparation for the arming of West Germany, for the West is now replying to this unilateral and dangerous move with the counter-arming of West Germany, so that there exists the danger of a race for arms within Germany, to be followed by a civil war with the armed support of the occupational powers. However, cynical pundits who comment on world politics explain that this race for arms within Germany, this trend of events, is in the interests of peace.

At the Berlin Conference at the beginning of 1954, with Mr. Molotov's proposal to limit the police forces in all parts of Germany and to place them under international control, Russia attempted to banish the spectre which, in the past, had been invoked by the one-sided arming of the Volkspolizei. This proposal was rejected under the pretext that such a control would be incompatible with German sovereignty. Thus the proposal experienced the fate of many other Russian proposals on the German

question. It came so late that it was greeted with scepticism, as the West had already decided on some other course of action.

For the ever-increasing readiness of the Soviet Union to negotiate, various explanations, some interconnected and others not, are possible. This Russian readiness to negotiate may be due to respect for the military strength of the West as a consequence of the NATO pact, or to an internal reversal of policy after the death of Stalin, or it may even be that the Soviet Union has a new and powerful neighbour on her distant Siberian frontier — New China — who is becoming increasingly aware of her power. The problem of atomic weapons can only be approached by entering upon negotiations. For security can be guaranteed only by political means, that is, if the world powers — America and Russia — together with the help of the smaller powers, endeavour to eliminate differences. If this necessity has not been grasped by the West, the idea will take root that co-existence of the different systems of the present day involves a status quo which would preserve international tension in its present state on both sides of the Iron Curtain, as was suggested in the New Year number of the London „Times“.

The French condition for the ratification of the Paris Agreement that the Germans make concessions on the Saar question, shows that France does not treat West Germany's joining the NATO pact as an event of prime importance. For France, indeed, there are other possible prospects of European development, apart from those which are contained in the Paris Agreement. The apparent weakness of France, which is reflected in the frequent governmental crises, lies in her vacillation between an alliance with Washington or one with Moscow. This attitude is aggravated by her old and understandable intolerance with regard to West German armament as well as to the re-unification of Germany. Germany, meanwhile, is now entering upon a new phase of her post-war development, in which a demand for re-unification will not be without influence in international politics. The occupation authorities still rule both parts of Germany, but they themselves are beginning to bring the occupational regime to an end, because permanent occupation is also a heavy burden for the victor, and it is certainly for this reason that there is a perceptible change in the political climate of Germany.

It is naturally in the interest of all the powers that they are allowing this transition to take place as smoothly as possible. But in the event of their striking camp, the occupation authorities on both sides will endeavour to emulate that European supervisor who, when he left Africa after building roads there, plucked out his glass eye and placed it on a sand-dune, saying to the natives that he was indeed going but that his eye would remain to supervise them. After his departure the natives worked according to the rules for a certain time, until one of them covered the eye with a hat. So the occupation authorities too, when they withdraw, will try to leave behind them a political automaton to continue to function according to their ideas. In West Germany this automaton is the joining of the West European Union, and in the Soviet Zone, the Communist party.

Recently a series of political needs was put forward: these include, firstly, the guaranteeing of European security by arming West Germany, and secondly, the re-unification of Germany. This is correct insofar as the division of Germany does not permit any relaxation of tension, but acts in Europe as a festering wound. It is, however, quite illogical and unrealistic to consider that this wound can be healed by one-sided, however well-intentioned, measures on the part of the West. Neither the agreement of the West nor the menace of an armed West Germany could force Russia to surrender her pawn, the Soviet Zone. With a world power such as the Soviet Union, one can only negotiate and, in exchange for re-unification, offer a permanent relaxation of tension. This is the only offer which the Soviet Union has apparently learned to value during the last years. The theory of solving problems in sequence, which determines the present official policy of West Germany, must give way to the realization that the security of Europe and the peaceful and free re-unification of Germany is a complex problem, and can only be solved as a whole.

It may be added that the Western Powers realize that Germany is not only an exceptional case strategically, as it was defined in the Paris Agreement, but because of her

division and geographical position, she is also an exceptional case politically, and for this reason she cannot be given a place in any Western military alliance. The tension concerning Germany can be relaxed only by an agreement on collective security, in which potential adversaries from both East and West would join.

The dilemma of the West lies in the fact that there is no proposal concerning the political position of a re-unified Germany in the world. It is quite understandable that Germany's neighbours want a certain guarantee in the event of the re-unification of Germany, as well as an assurance that Germany will not join any hostile military alliance. Western policy over-simplifies matters by the Eden plan, which supposes that free elections are the only pre-requisite for re-unification. According to German opinion an all-German government can only result from such elections, but the international policy of such a government will either be decided on in advance or it will not exist at all. Before the founding of the West German Federal Republic, the Western Powers decided on the policy which the partial German state was to adopt. Naturally not only the Western Powers, but the Russians too, know very well that, in the event of a free decision, Germany would be for the West. It is understandable that the Russians, for the above mentioned reasons, intend to sell their agreement on free elections — if they agree to it at all — only in exchange for a guarantee that the post-election Germany would not join any anti-Russian military alliance. On the other hand, there exists a doubt in the mind of the Americans — which from the German point of view is absurd — that a Germany which is not included in a Western military alliance could be enticed into some kind of anti-American military alliance, for instance, through an offer to restore to Germany her Eastern territories on the other side of the Oder and the Neisse. At all events the amputation of East Germany which was performed at the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences will still have serious repercussions but in this connection it is at least clear that in any case Germany must be excluded from any anti-Western alliance. In the same way, it should be borne in mind that if Germany left the Western military alliance, she could not retrieve her sovereignty in armament. The continuation of the control on the arming of Germany should be considered as an important point in the agreement on collective security for Europe. German policy can in no other way retain the confidence of either the East or the West.

The proposal for an agreement on the collective security of the European states, together with the participation of a re-unified Germany which would not be included in any military alliance, is described as neutrality, with the intention of discrediting it. Because the conception of neutrality has, in some incomprehensible way, today become an alarming word, all behave as though it were the personification of evil — as if the world and Germany would not be only too glad if Germany kept out of the world struggle as far as possible. It is malicious to impute that it cannot be seen from the proposal whether Germany would decide on the East or the West, or that such a proposal would create a vacuum in the heart of Europe. With regard to the first apprehension, which is frequently expressed abroad, the fact seems to have been lost sight of that, in free elections, the German people do not even elect four Communists out of a hundred, and that on the 17th of June 1953 unarmed workers in the Soviet Zone tried to stir up a revolt against the authorities in that Zone. As regards the second, which is more confined to Germany, it is not realized that a security pact need not mean any kind of military alliance. The essence of the proposal is simply an agreement on guarantees, according to which the member-countries, including the world powers, the USA and the Soviet Union, would promise each other to find a peaceful solution for all mutual disputes, and that all the remaining countries would automatically attack, as an aggressor, any country which resorted to arms. In this way Germany would be excluded only from a military alliance directed against a third country. This proposal has nothing against the existence of the NATO pact, but it only takes into consideration the special position of Germany. For we must be clear on this point: the Atlantic Pact, as a military alliance, is a necessary counter-balance to the Eastern bloc. For this reason the existence of a zone between the two blocs, which would not belong

to any alliance, as is the case with Sweden, would serve the interests of world peace.

Recent statements by generals from the East and the West have created the impression that leading military circles are today, for the most part, aware of the gravity of the situation. Perhaps for this reason they see that their means are inadequate to bring under control such powers as would be loosed by a new world war. And so, to all appearances, President Eisenhower is the power which controls the policy of the USA towards China, while General MacArthur, in his old age, champions the prohibition of war. In the same way the impression is enhanced that the Russian generals who, after the death of Stalin,

forced their way to the foreground of the political scene, also desire a relaxation of tension.

The Conference of the Great Powers on disarmament — or rather the current talks on disarmament — should for the present be held in secret, as any premature publication would lead to the abyss of the cold war.

Talks on disarmament cannot, however, be conducted only on a technical level, where divisions confront each other.

Disarmament can only be achieved if the nations strive together towards a well-intentioned solution of political tension by the reconciling of interests which stand in the way of negotiations.

Dr. Jovan ĐORĐEVIĆ

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE DISCUSSION OF SOCIAL CLASSES AND POLITICAL PARTIES

I

POLITICAL parties, in their real sense, have their source of origin in social-economic changes, and the political developments which accompany, complement and influence such changes. The most important of such changes have been the capitalist methods of production and the social system organized on the basis of capitalism. The capitalist system caused the formation, progressive separation and, finally, the organizational, political and psychological composition of a number of different social groups. Last century the two most powerful political groups that emerged out of this differentiated society were the bourgeoisie and the working class. Naturally, no one can say that economic and political changes by themselves can lead to the creation of the political organizations of individual social groups. What is also necessary is a corresponding political, cultural and ideological development, particularly the introduction of general suffrage and the right to organize.

The relation between social classes and political organizations is indisputable, and is confirmed by the political history of all advanced nations. The claim which is sometimes heard that social classes are an „illusion” and that political parties are formed to satisfy „men's competing and partisan urges”, falls within the domain of mythology rather than science. But this mythology, too, has its social and class roots. Political science and practice have shown that political parties are, in simple words, „class political organizations”.

Firstly, political parties came into being as a result of the social differences between, and of separate economic and, thus, political and ideological interests and wishes of individual social groups, and of the chief social classes in particular. An analysis of political parties, regardless of whether they are of a nationalist, popular, religious or local character, would show that their basic strength, the possibility of their existence, and the purpose of their activities are determined by social and class interests. Jelinek called the religious, national and similar parties „false parties”. However, this false trait of any given party was to be found in what that party wanted other people to think about its activities, and not in what it really was, or in what its most conscious section thought and wanted. As far as a party represented a real political force, it was determined by society, and stood for the interests and strivings of definite social groups and classes. Here it will suffice to mention as an example the „Moslem Organization” of pre-war Yugoslavia and the present-day or former Catholic and similar religious parties of France, Italy, South America and other countries. The same holds good for the former

„national parties” (such as the Yugoslav National Party before the war).

Secondly, parties originated and developed in the process of class, political and ideological conflicts and struggles, as a necessity and an instrument of the class structure and the antinomic character of society. Evidence in support of this can be found in the social and political history of Yugoslavia, as well as in that of a majority of countries which have developed under similar circumstances. The organic link between the differentiated and conflicting social structure and parties is due to their very nature and role. A party is a political organization, but a definite political organization. It is a political organization because it comes into being and acts with the purpose of organizing society into a definite order and turning its development in a definite direction by canvassing and securing the support of the citizens. Every real policy is, in fact, an expression of the historical truth, i. e., of the awareness that people have different ideas on how society should be organized and its development conducted, and that such ideas are conflicting, and receive support from different social groups. Social, and, eventually, class differences and conflicts are the source of various political conceptions, and the basis upon which such conceptions become active forces which attract people, mobilize and organize them.

Thirdly, a party is a political organization, whose aim is to organize and conduct the ruling policy or political authority. Politics and the struggle for power are the constituent elements of a political party. Parties appear because society must still be governed. Political authority is the concentrated expression of politics and political struggles, i. e., of the fact that there are so many social differences, so that society is a political and not a human society. The existence of political authority shows that no close, human solidarity yet exists in society, and that society has not advanced far enough to be freed from subjection, from the individual forces which govern men. And so the existence of authority means that man and society are not free yet.

Without going into the complex question of the psychological and subjective aspect of authority, its maintenance and strengthening, political power, as an objective social phenomenon, and the internal necessity of human society in definite phases of its development, is the consequence of economic and class differences, class conflicts and man's struggle for a freedom which he does not really enjoy. A free man is an advanced and conscious individual who is the „initiator of his policy” — which is at the same time general policy — and who needs no formal organization to affirm his personality

and his "political" and other interests. As soon as political authority becomes the concern of all, that is, as soon as it ceases to exist and gives way to self-government and social administration, politics and parties cease to be what they are in a class society: the instruments of policy and government, through which a victory of one idea or political programme over another is sought. Whether in such new conditions men will form their joint organizations, and in what form their political life and action will develop, is a matter of the future and of men themselves.

The concrete relations between parties and classes are complex and variable. Any fixed view on the matter would be unscientific in character. One and the same class can be politically represented by a number of parties, just as it can be represented by only one. Parties are not always monolithic organizations, not even when they are most firmly organized and when they have an elaborate and generally accepted programme and ideology. But there are parties within which there is a real unity of action and purpose, or various degrees of that unity. This is true, not only of general, but also of special parties: workers, peasants and others. The relative discord within individual parties is chiefly the result of the fact that no class is, objectively or subjectively, a unique or precisely circumscribed social group. There are within every class inequalities and considerable, one might even say great differences in the degree of class consciousness between its various elements. Besides this, there is a profound difference between those, few in number, who are able to reason politically and put forward creative thoughts and ideas, and those who are in majority, but whose abilities do not allow and whose inclinations do not facilitate their joining the struggle for the general interests of their group and class.

But this is not all. Classes originate in definite material, cultural and ideological conditions, and are under the influence not only of these, let us say, home, but also of outside, or alien circumstances. Classes develop and change under the influence of the general advances of a society to which they belong, under the direct and indirect influence of the ruling conceptions and ideologies, as well as under the influence of the inherited interests, mentalities and ideas, and of the interests and mentalities of other classes.

Consequently different relations exist between concrete classes and parties. There are certain parties which do not represent either the class interests or the class consciousness of a definite class, whose ideology they nevertheless proclaim as their own, and whose support they enjoy. This, it is true, cannot be of a lasting nature, and every class which is socially mature and politically strong must, finally, form its own party or parties. Similarly, it happens that, at a definite stage of society's development, some parties represent, not only their own, but also other, even opposing classes. This, too, cannot be of a lasting nature, and neither is a rule.

The history of the class struggle and social development shows that there have been unusual developments which cannot be grasped and explained by a static and mechanical consideration of relations between social classes and parties. Individual classes may lose their parties — particularly at a time when a class ceases to be capable of putting forward an acceptable, socially necessary and valid policy, and when its ideas become conservative and outdated. In such a situation, a new, dynamic and active class, which has become prevalent, or is capable of becoming prevalent in production, may become the representative of a nation, i.e., of the interests of a majority of citizens. This may happen when, for instance, a nation is engaged in a struggle for existence, or when it is necessary to ensure its forward movement, without which it would not only stagnate, but even degenerate. The party of a new class may, in such a case, represent the general interests of all social groups, as a community of people and men. This actually happened in individual countries, when the bourgeoisie and its party were liberating society from feudalism. It also happened in Yugoslavia when, during the Liberation war and Revolution, the Communist Party was the only party of freedom and national liberation. At that time other parties did not appear, or if they did, they stood aside or opposed the interest of the nation. This however, does not mean that the class interests and the class ideas of the old classes and parties have disappeared by themselves, or that they do not (or did not) tend

to manifest and reaffirm themselves. Once the general interests of a nation are represented by a capable class and its party, interests and the ideas of the classes that have been socially and politically overthrown can reaffirm themselves politically only on two conditions: first, if their re-emergence is carried out by force or by foreign influence, and, secondly, if for various reasons society is stagnating and going backward, and if the victorious party is not capable of holding the position in society which it has won.

All these forms of mutual relations between parties and classes can be studied only through concrete historical methods. Social and political science has so far been inclined to generalize matters. As a result it is now concerned solely with the static, mechanical and almost stereotyped problems of relations between classes and parties. Only concrete historical analyses of various countries and various social, political and general conditions can provide the material necessary for serious scientific generalizations, and for a further study of the theory of political parties.

II

1. — One of the most important questions to which contemporary social and political science must give due attention is the existence and position of a political party or parties in states whose communities are in a transition period, i.e., progressing from capitalism to socialism. In this question, too, relation between parties and social classes is of paramount interest. It is a historical fact that in all countries which have undertaken to develop a socialist society one party has been or is being formed today. In Yugoslavia, together with efforts to free social and political development from all forms of etatism and political monopolism, significant changes, which affect the classical formula on the so-called necessity of a "single party system", have taken, and are taking place.

For science and for socialist thought it is becoming increasingly clear that the so-called classical theory, which states that social transformation is logically and necessarily — and thus rationally and morally — connected with the system of one party, is, as such, scientifically unfounded. Generally speaking, a political order with two or more parties can — and present practice tends to confirm this — be just as socialist and not less capable of developing socialism and socialist relations. It would, however, be necessary to retain the social and economic tenets of socialism, such as social ownership of the basic means of production, self-management of producers and workers, especially in industry, resistance against class inequalities and exploitation of man by man, withering away of the state, the emancipation of man, and production for the benefit of man and his needs. Developments of this kind — in which socialist development of society would be evolutionary and a link between the existing or changed party pluralism — were even predicted for individual countries by the great socialist writers of the 19th century, particularly by Marx and Engels.

The single party system is not necessarily linked with socialist development. It is wrong to think that in the initial, or even later phases of socialist development, all classes are liquidated, and that the working class itself is not liable to changes. In a complex and differentiated society, which is in a transitional period, the working class, too, may have more than one party, and may engage in political struggles and even cooperate with other social classes and groups which, through historical events, embark upon a socialist road and participate in socialist programmes, defending not only various interests, but also different ideas about the forms and the pace of development.

The existence of a single party system may be a historical necessity, a result of definite historical events and circumstances. What I have in mind is a concrete historical necessity, and not a necessity of socialist society as such. The political development in pre-war Yugoslavia, and the events and changes that took place during the War of Liberation, show, for instance, why only two political organizations, the Communist Party and the People's Front, conducted the liberation struggle, and why the old political parties disappeared from the political stage. At that period, these two political organizations were the only real parties, and it was with them that

the new state came into being, and began to live and develop. Any consequent revival of old political parties would have been in discord with the new social situation, an act of introducing political organizations from outside, in an artificial way. And such an artificial introduction of political organizations from outside is not possible for two reasons: first, because in the newly established political and social structure they would not have their real place, and, second, because the social and political forces which made the greatest sacrifice for the liberation of society from the past and, thus, from the earlier classes and their organizations, would not and could not allow such a step, and no one should blame them for that.

2. — In certain aspects the most interesting events in relation to the theory of political parties are the changes which have occurred in Yugoslavia, and which are altering the character, place and role of political parties, and of the party system itself. The purpose and aim of socialism is not to maintain and develop one or more parties in their traditional form; the basic aim of socialism is to ensure a unique liberation process which produces a) expansion of the material, political and other conditions necessary to enable working men, and in fact men in general, to enjoy real freedom and to take part in the determining of all public and private matters, and b) changes in the classical political structure of society through the modification, transformation and withering away of the state and parties, which are the main levers in the classical machinery of class rule and class struggle.

In this process, the classical characteristics of the party have begun to change in Yugoslavia. The Communist Party has been transformed into a political League of Communists. As a political organization the League still has certain of the characteristics of a party, because it is a political union of those members of the working class and working people who, through their work, their ideas and their behaviour, support socialism and socialist democracy and fight to turn their ideas into social reality. But the League is gradually losing those elements through which a classical party tends to capture political power for itself and its class, to retain it as its own or class monopoly, and to govern society and determine its development. The League of Communists is only an organization of the "most conscious section of the working people".

The steps taken in Yugoslavia do not involve only the change of the name, position and role of a party in state and social life. But even that is of considerable importance for a state in a transition period, which has started its socialist development on the basis of relative political monism.

In order to change the character and role of a party it is necessary also to change the basis and conditions upon which the party system, as such, exists. In Yugoslavia the basis of these changes is the Socialist Alliance

of Working People, a general political organization of all the citizens of Yugoslavia. Being voluntary, and free of ideological and political monopolism, the Socialist Alliance is a political organization which restricts and checks political monopolism, the chief source of political monism. The Socialist Alliance is, in a corresponding measure, a recognition of political pluralism, and an external expression of its existence. Now this pluralism is becoming more and more free pluralism of the individual citizen.

The basis of the transformation of the party system, i.e., of political monopolism, must be, and is, (in Yugoslavia) the socialist social relations and the affirmation of of man, a free and conscious individual, as the pillar of the entire social and political order. The political expression of this basis, the political superstructure which grows on it, is direct democracy, a machinery of producers' and citizens' self-government. The self-governed communes, the workers' councils and the entire system of social self-government, are the new instruments of man's emancipation from tutelage and political alienation. Thus, to give an example, the new electoral system in Yugoslavia tends, through its political basis and legal aspects, to enable the citizens to elect their true representatives. The nominating of candidates in elections for the representative bodies, workers' councils and other self-governed organs, is today being done at meetings by the voters themselves, or by relatively small groups of citizens. This election system has considerably changed the character and role of political organizations and to a considerable extent it restricts the centralization and political monopolism which arises from the party system, and which is characteristic of both political monism and pluralism.

As parties when they appear are closely and in different ways connected with the social differences, classes and class struggles, so the changing and the dying away of the party system depends on the degree of success that society achieves in overcoming class contradictions and differences, class conflicts and various forms of backwardness, inequality, exploitation and alienation of man from his human personality and freedom. In this respect, it seems that two ideas can already be formulated.

Firstly, the development of socialism and socialist society necessitates essential changes in the party system, in the role and character of parties and the withering away of class organizations. Secondly, socialist society can exist and develop even on the basis of more parties and new political pluralism. Generally speaking, political pluralism, which originates in socialist social relations and conditions, in harmony with the machinery of socialist democracy, corresponds to socialist changes, and it may even become a necessity of some socialist societies. But that will be determined freely and consciously by the citizens of such a society themselves.

L. ERVEN

THE WARSAW TREATY

At a conference held in Warsaw in mid May, delegations of the Soviet Union, Poland, Eastern Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania concluded a Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, thus setting up in Eastern Europe a military organization similar to that existing in Western Europe. It is too early yet to say anything definite about this treaty, but in analyzing its text and the events which preceded and accompanied its signing, it is possible to draw certain initial conclusions.

1. In view of the extensive activity the Soviet Union has evinced in the conclusion of the Austrian State Treaty, in the problem of disarmament, and in efforts to convene

a conference of the Great Powers, the signing of the Warsaw Treaty, which was announced some time earlier at a preliminary conference of the parties concerned, might have caused some confusion. For while the said activities were directed towards the easing of international tension, a new military alliance cannot, normally, contribute to such an end. The introductory articles to the Treaty state that one of the reasons for its conclusion was the policy of the Western Powers, as expressed in the Paris Agreement, which provided for the organizing of a West European Union, and for the inclusion of a remilitarized Germany in such a union and, through it, also in the Atlantic Pact. The parties to the Warsaw Treaty considered themselves threa-

tened by this policy, and consequently decided to form their own military bloc. The Warsaw Treaty, accordingly, may be taken to be a worsening of the international situation, for, under it, a number of States in Eastern Europe will undertake new and joint military measures.

But such an impression would be wrong, because the Warsaw Treaty will not have any great influence on existing relations between its signatories. Owing to separate agreements which exist between them, their mutual relations, joint interests and policy, and the single influence by which they are held together, they were a firm bloc even before the Warsaw Treaty, and acted as such in all post-war political events, problems and international crises. A new legal form can hardly add anything to these relations. Consequently, reasons for the conclusion of the Warsaw Treaty must be sought elsewhere, and not in the efforts of the signatories to strengthen their security measures. In view of these facts, the Warsaw Treaty cannot worsen the international situation today.

2. But the treaty is, nevertheless, a new manifestation of bloc politics, because all its signatories belong to a single bloc, and because that bloc is reaffirmed through the treaty as an international organization with a united political leadership, united armed forces and other common organs. Further, the parties to the Warsaw Treaty act as a single bloc because they oppose, in an organized and united manner, the other, western bloc. As a result, the Warsaw Treaty is a new manifestation of bloc organizations.

In this respect, it is similar in form to its counterpart in the west — the Atlantic Pact. Its members, just as those of the Atlantic Pact, are linked by a common political and social order. The Warsaw Treaty, like the Atlantic Pact, rests upon an ideological basis. But the ideological character of the Warsaw Treaty, which is due to the composition of its membership, is not emphasized in its provisions. The Warsaw Treaty does not put forward any aims of an ideological character, such as, for instance, the establishment and strengthening of a definite social order, and, what is more, its introductory articles call for the cooperation of European countries, regardless of their state and social systems, and Article 9 states that all such states can join the Treaty. In this, too, it differs from the Atlantic Pact.

3. Some circles, which are inclined to seek concealed motives behind all moves of the Soviet Union, connected the concluding of the Warsaw Treaty with the Soviet initiative for the signing of the Austrian Treaty. It was suggested, for instance, that the aim of the Warsaw Treaty is to legalize the stationing of Soviet troops in some Eastern countries, from which they would have to withdraw after the occupation of Austria comes to an end. This may actually be one of the results of the Treaty, if for some reason the Soviet Union decides to keep its troops in the East European countries, but that does not mean that it is the exclusive or chief aim of the Treaty. The Soviet Union was in a position to get such legal sanction by other means, or to achieve the same effect in some other way. Apart from all this, the Warsaw Treaty has another, a political aspect, which has no connection with the provisions concerning a united command, and the integration and distribution of armed forces. It is not known which of these two aspects of the Treaty is more important to its signatories.

This political aspect of the treaty is best revealed by Articles 2 and 11. The preamble to the treaty affirms the wish of the contracting parties to establish a system of collective security in Europe, which would be based on the participation of all European states, regardless of their state and social systems, and which would enable them to exert joint efforts to stabilize peace in Europe. Article 2 declares that the contracting parties are ready to cooperate with other states in all international actions for the strengthening of peace and security, and that they will endeavour, in agreement with other countries, to undertake effective measures for the reduction of armaments, and for the banning of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons for mass destruction. And Article 11 states that the treaty will cease to be valid, even before it is due to expire, if a general European agreement on collective security is signed, for which the contracting parties will continue to work resolutely.

4. It must be pointed out that provisions of this kind have not the usual character of contractual obligations, because they do not regulate the mutual relations between the signatories. They are rather a declaration of policy, clothed in a contractual form, for they express the attitude of the signatory countries toward certain international issues, such as collective security, disarmaments, nuclear weapons and

the like. As a result, this part of the treaty has the character of a propaganda document.

This declarative part of the Warsaw Treaty puts forward all those political demands which the Soviet Union has made in its actions for the decreasing of international tension. It demands that the process of rearming Germany should be stopped, that the problems of security should be settled through a collective European agreement, and that armaments should be reduced and nuclear weapons banned. Viewed through these demands, the Warsaw Treaty is just a new move of Soviet diplomacy, and is in full accord with its earlier acts. The provisions concerning the new military organization and the united command are, thus, of secondary importance, for they would readily be given up if the political part of the treaty should succeed. They underline the importance which the contracting parties attach to their political aims.

5. The Warsaw Treaty mentions the Charter of the United Nations several times. The contracting parties declare that they respect the aims and the principles of the United Nations — but that is a declaration usually included in all international agreements of the present day. Under Article 1 they undertake — in harmony with the United Nations Charter — not to resort to the use of force or threats of force in international relations, and to settle all disputes in a peaceful way. And according to Article 4, they undertake — in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter — to submit to the authority of the Security Council in all measures undertaken.

The treaty, as we see, has been drawn up so as to comply with the provisions of the United Nations Charter. This is very interesting, because five of its eight signatories are not members of the United Nations. But nevertheless they undertake by a special treaty to act as the United Nations expects its members to do, and they voluntarily accept the jurisdiction of the Security Council in matters concerning security. Can a reliable conclusion be drawn from this fact, which is quite unusual? Actually more than one might be drawn from this, and therefore such conclusions cannot be relied upon, and must be regarded as mere speculation.

It might, for instance, be taken to mean that the parties to the treaty who are members of the United Nations had a decisive influence on the formulation of its provisions, and that they wanted to harmonize the relations that the treaty establishes with the principles of the organization to which they belong, although the other parties were not obliged to take such considerations into account. Further, the parties to the Treaty might have wished to emphasize the feelings of international solidarity with which they are inspired, so as to give to the treaty the authority of the United Nations. Finally, the states whose admission to the United Nations the western bloc had been persistently opposing, might have wanted to reaffirm their faith in the United Nations, so as to weaken the arguments used against them, and to back up their demand to be admitted into the world organization.

6. In some provisions the Warsaw Treaty is similar to the Atlantic Pact. Thus, like the Atlantic Pact, it provides for the mutual consultations of its members, defines their rights and duties in case of aggression, and regulates their participation in other international agreements. In some other provisions it is similar to the military organization of the Atlantic Pact, which was not set up and developed on the basis of the original treaty, but in accordance with subsequent agreements and decisions of the Atlantic Council, for it also provides for a joint command, joint armed forces, and the coordination of defensive measures. In this respect, however there are considerable differences.

7. Just as Western Germany is a member of the Atlantic Pact, so Eastern Germany is a member of the Warsaw Treaty. The forming of armed forces in Eastern Germany has been put off, probably in expectation of the results of the forthcoming talks on the German problem. But in spite of this, Eastern Germany has agreed to allow the stationing of united armed forces in its territory. Consequently, Eastern Germany may be occupied by the forces of the other contracting parties, even before its own army is organized, or even if it is not organized at all. Western Germany enjoys greater equality in the western bloc.

This brief and superficial discussion of the text of the Warsaw Treaty shows that it is really an unusual international document.

TEHNOHEMIJA

BEOGRAD — KARAĐORĐEVA 44 P.O. BOX 66

Cable: TEHNOHEMIJA Beograd — Phone: 29-700, 25-220, 26-465

EXPORT-IMPORT

WE IMPORT, EXPORT AND STOCK

CHEMICAL PRODUCTS:

Inorganic elements (sulphur, phosphor, etc.); other metaloids and metals, inorganic acids, alkaline and salts; organic compounds of all kinds; essential oils of all kinds; liqueur essences, candies, etc.; resins and waxes; compressed gasses; aniline dyes, pigments and other dyes; paints and varnishes of both foreign and domestic production; abrasives; industry utensils as well as all other chemical products not mentioned above.

NON-METALS AND THEIR PRODUCTS:

Raw asbestos, special asbestos fibre, asbestos yarn, asbestos fabric, braids and gaskets, „Klingerit“ and „Ferodo“ belts, „Manloch“ bands, vulcanised fibre, „Pertinax“, electric insulation material as well as all other unspecified material for insulation and sealing. Special fabrics and textile tubing, hempen products for industry, felt, jute and other textile materials for technical purposes.

RUBBER AND PLASTIC MATERIALS:

Gum, lastex and their products. Rubber belts, V-belts, rubber discs for insulation and other technical purposes, rubber and lastex tubing and similar products. Rubber gloves for high tension. Polyvinyl, chloride, polystyrene, celluloid, acetyl-celluloid, bakelites, aminoplastics and other plastic materials and their products. Cellophane.

LEATHER AND LEATHER GOODS:

All kinds of leather products for industry. All sizes of belts, leather aprons, leather mining helmets, etc.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

R. NIKETIC

PRODUCTION AND PRICES OF INDUSTRIAL GOODS IN FIRST QUARTER OF 1954

THE level of industrial output achieved so far is undoubtedly of immense significance for the fulfilment of this year's economic plan. This survey covers industrial production in the first quarter of 1955.

Industrial Production

In the first quarter of 1955 industrial output developed at a normal rate. The fairly high production level achieved during the last months of 1954 was maintained in the first months of this year. The index of aggregate industrial output was 31% higher in the first quarter of 1955 than in the corresponding period last year. Data on the development of industrial production not only indicate that the production level achieved this year exceeds that in the first quarter of 1954, but also testify to the existence of all the necessary conditions for the fulfilment of the industrial production targets foreseen by the 1955 Economic Plan.

The more regular supply of industry with electric power and coal, as well as the coming into operation of new capacities by the end of 1954 and the beginning of 1955 played an important part in raising industrial production this year. It should be noted in this context that the economic instruments provided for by the economic system also exerted a favourable influence on production.

Compared to the January–April period last year the index numbers of output per industrial branch in the first quarter of 1955 show the following increase:

Power production	122
Mining	119
Metallurgy	153
Machine building	135
Chemical industry	148
Textile, leather, clothing and footwear	132
Food industry and tobacco	130
Other manufacturing industries	128
Industry and Mining together	131

As indicated by this survey, all industrial branches as well as mining and industry as a whole, marked a high production level in the first quarter of this year. As compared to the corresponding period last year, such a volume of industrial output called forth a commensurate increase of consumption of materials for manufacture which, however, does not exceed the volume of consumption foreseen by this year's economic plan.

The further increase of output of means of production and consumer goods was particularly noted in the first quarter. The index numbers of the basic groups of articles categorized per purpose were as follows in the first quarter of 1954 and 1955 respectively (1953=100)

	I Quarter 1954	I Quarter 1955	Index number
Means of production	73	97	131
Materials for reproduction	97	125	129
Consumer goods	91	125	131

Although the index numbers reveal an increase in all three categories of goods, it is no less a fact that the increased output of means of production was accompanied by a rise in the production of consumer goods, this being an extremely favourable tendency, as it undoubtedly marks a turning point in production which will ensure the steady flow of consumer goods to the market, and thus exert a favourable influence on the standard of living.

Industrial production in all the People's Republics reveals an upward trend in the first quarter of this year. The increase achieved is as follows: (1953=100)

	1955		
	January	February	March
Serbia	115	118	130
Croatia	101	111	122
Slovenia	115	115	128
Bosnia–Herzegovina	136	134	152
Macedonia	123	130	147
Montenegro	112	105	124

Beginning with January this year over-all industrial output showed a steady upward tendency in Serbia, Slovenia and Macedonia, while marking slight oscillations in the other republics.

The index numbers of employment in the first quarter of this year remained more or less on the same level, with the exception of minor oscillations, viz. (1953=100).

	Index number of employment
January	122
February	123
March	122

Upon comparing the level of industrial output achieved so far with an almost constant level of employment, one necessarily comes to the conclusion that an appreciable increase of labour productivity was brought about in this period.

Power Production and Generation

The index numbers of aggregate power production, and the individual branches of power generation in the first quarter of 1955 were as follows:

Indices of power production (1953=100):

	January	February	March
Total power production	132	129	140
Petroleum extraction and refining	129	127	136
Electric power generation	140	133	149
Coal extraction and processing	128	126	140

Although total power production and output per individual branches has been notably augmented in comparison with the average production in 1953, a negligible decline was, however marked in February this year.

The rise of power production to a certain extent ensured the better and more regular supply of industry with electric power, coal and petroleum derivatives.

Electric Power. — Average monthly output of electric power in the first quarter of this year was higher than that in the fourth and first quarter last year by 106% and 136% respectively. Electric power generation reached a record level in March this year with 370.7 million kwh. The hydroelectric plants, which account for 59% of aggregate electric power production, contributed most to this increase, which is partly due to the fuller use of the available hydroelectric plants, abundant precipitations and the coming into operation of new hydroelectric projects (Jablanica and Moste). A further production increase of electric power may be expected, in view of the abundant rainfall in April and May this year.

Coal. — Average monthly coal production in the first quarter this year was on the same level as in the fourth quarter of 1954, although notably exceeding average monthly output in the corresponding period last year (112%). Hardcoal and coke production show a particular increase. The rise of coke production will undoubtedly stimulate the consumption of coal for coking. In so far as coke production is maintained on approximately the same level during the next few months, it will require imports of coking coal to be augmented at the expense of former coke imports. This will enable an appreciable improvement in the balance of payments situation as imports of coke (a finished product) will be reduced and replaced by imports of coal for coking which will be further processed in the country.

Coal supplies for industry, transport and other industrial consumers were not only appreciably higher in the first quarter this year, but the difficulties encountered by the end of 1953 in this respect and in certain months of 1954 have likewise been eliminated.

Petroleum. — Notwithstanding the fact that average monthly output of crude petroleum in the first quarter this year declined slightly, in comparison with the fourth quarter of 1954 (98.5%), the average monthly imports of this commodity dropped by 56%, as compared to the corresponding period last year. Thanks to the stocks available, the output of petroleum and petroleum derivatives has risen considerably as compared to last year's level, in accordance with the provisions of the 1955 economic plan. Thus, production of the following articles was substantially augmented during the first three months of this year, as compared to the corresponding period last year: crude petroleum refining (129%), gasoline (119%), kerosene (164%) gas oil (130%), lubricants (200%), and soot (190%).

Metallurgy and Non-Metals. — The index numbers of production in metallurgy and the non-metals industry in the first quarter of 1955 are as follows per the individual branches.

Index numbers of metallurgy and non-metals (1953=100):

	January	February	March
Iron and Steel Metallurgy	151	146	168
Non-ferrous metallurgy	107	110	124
Non-metals	111	102	116

Iron and Steel Metallurgy. — With its new capacities this branch of industry reached peak production during the first months of this year, in spite of the comparative decline in the extraction of iron ore. The highest average output of pig iron to date (43,679 tons) and steel (70,387 tons, of which 66,369 tons were of open hearth steel and 3,991 of El steel) was achieved this year. Apart from this, one should particularly mention the notable production growth of drawn and rolled products, where average monthly output in the first quarter this year was almost doubled in comparison with the corresponding period last year.

Non-ferrous Metallurgy. — With a wide assortment of ores and metals this industrial branch registered an appreci-

able increase in the first quarter of this year, owing primarily to a more even and regular flow of supplies. Average monthly production of almost all primary products (blister and electrolytic copper, refined lead etc.) in the first quarter of this year exceeded last year's level by 133%. Output of non-ferrous (copper, copper alloy, aluminium and aluminium alloy) rolled and drawn products also rose substantially, although the available rolling mills are still not running at full capacity.

Non-metals. — Output of non-metals has also been notably augmented: average monthly production increased, particularly in the case of refractory bricks (143%), constructional ceramics (266%), hollow glass (170%), and electro-porcelain (278%), as compared to the first three months of 1954. Notwithstanding the upward tendency revealed by average monthly cement production, it is still about 24% below the maximum capacity of the reconstructed plants.

The high initial production level of the basic industries was immediately reflected in the volume of overall industrial production, as the basic industries account for 35% of the aggregate industrial output.

Metal and Chemical Industry: The index numbers of production per individual branch of the metal and chemical industries are as follows:

Index numbers of metal and chemical industry

	(1953 = 100)		
	January	February	March
Metal industry & machine building	92	117	130
Electric engineering industry	115	131	136
Chemical industry	156	146	174
Paper industry	108	107	130

Metal and Machine Building Industry: Notwithstanding a notable increase of production in this branch, particularly in the case of iron castings (134%), steel castings (130%), wood and metal working machines (214%), and other products, a certain decline was registered in the output of motor vehicles and the repair of railway engines and carriages, which may be considered a serious problem, in view of the ever growing transport requirements in highway and other vehicles. The shortage of some basic materials for reproduction, primarily those imported should primarily be cited among the reasons for this decline.

Electric Engineering Industry: The appreciable production increase in this industrial branch was mainly due to the coming into operation of the Svetozarevo cable factory and the good organisation of contracting which ensured the full and continuous use of the available capacities. In so far as no shortages of materials for reproduction have occurred this year, all prospects indicate that this branch will by far exceed the targets foreseen.

Chemical Industry: The new capacities for the manufacture of artificial fertilizer, nitric acid and ammonium nitrates, as well as the better use of the capacities for the production of sulphuric acid and calcium carbide enabled the achievement of a high initial production level. A record monthly output of ammonium nitrate (1584 tons) and artificial fertilizer (19,766 tons) was reached in March this year. Output of bluestone (copper sulphate) and soap, however, declined slightly. Taken as a whole, the output of chemicals is proceeding in accordance with the provisions of the 1955 economic plan.

Paper Industry: Output of the following products in the first quarter of 1955 was notably higher than in the corresponding period last year: viz. wood pulp (112%) cellulose (128%), pasteboard (162%) as well as other types of paper (111%).

Other industrial branches: The index numbers of production in the other industrial branches during the first quarter of 1955 are as follows:

Index numbers of other industrial branches (1953=100)

	January	February	March
Timber industry	102	112	115
Textile industry	132	137	153
Leather and shoe industry	123	115	129
Rubber industry	116	121	124
Food industry	96	94	101
Printing industry	108	117	120
Tobacco industry	137	133	138

As can be seen, the initial production levels in all branches, with the exception of the food industry, reveal a steady upward trend, with negligible oscillations.

Timber industry: The production level achieved is primarily the result of the increased output of finished products: furniture (164%), plywood (138%), other wooden sheets (148%), veneers (196%) tanning extracts (107%), sawn hardwoods (138%). Output of sawn softwoods is on the decline (98%) owing to the reduced cutting of conifer forests. In view of the smaller volume of felling, the sawmills are not running at full capacity, which has resulted in an increase of production costs. Special investments have been foreseen this year, with a view to ensuring the maximum utilisation of the amount of wood available.

Textile industry: Output in the first quarter of this year evolved according to plan, which foresees a comparatively even rate of production during the whole year, in view of the fact that no new capacities are scheduled to begin operation in 1955, and that the provisions of the economic plan on the output of cotton fabrics are based on the assumption of the maximum use of the available spinning mill capacities.

The production level achieved in the first quarter is not only 34% higher than last year, but also reveals a notably altered assortment of goods, as illustrated by the following survey:

Average monthly output						
Unit measure	January-March		January-March		Production increment Quantity	
	Q.	Str.	Q.	Str.		
Cotton yarn	t	2,447	72.0	3,220	71.0	773
Woollen yarn	t	557	16.0	888	20.0	331
Hemp yarn	t	359	12.0	414	9.0	55
Total	t	3,363	100.0	4,522	100.0	1,159
Cotton fabrics (in 000 m ²)		12,524	85.0	14,403	80.0	1879
Woollen fabrics (in 000 m ²)		1,179	8.0	2,240	12.0	1061
Rayon fabrics		576	4.0	1,024	6.0	448
Hemp fabrics		508	3.0	341	2.0	167
Total		14,787	100.0	18,008	100.0	3221

This survey indicates a notable production increase of fine quality and valuable goods, both woollen yarn and woollen and rayon fabrics, while the output of hemp fabrics is on the decline.

Leather and shoe industry: The initial production level of leather and footwear corresponds to that foreseen by the 1955 economic plan. Thus the output of sole leather rose by 130%, upper leather by 116%, and footwear by 124%, as compared to the corresponding period last year.

As shown by the aforementioned index numbers of industrial production, this year's initial level on the whole corresponds to the targets foreseen by the 1955 economic plan. This already offers valuable guarantees with regard to the fulfilment of the plan, provided no unforeseen difficulties arise.

Price Trend of Industrial Goods: Further oscillations and a slight over-all increase of retail prices was noted in the first quarter of this year. The somewhat higher wholesale prices of industrial goods were primarily due to the price increase of materials for manufacture while, generally speaking, the wholesale prices of means of production and consumer goods revealed a more or less stable tendency. Reviewed according to individual branches of industry wholesale prices in March this year were as follows:

Index numbers of retail prices in March 1955				
	Average	December	March	February
	1953	1954	1954	1955
Total price index	105	102	105	100.2
Means of production	106	96	107	100
Materials for re-				
production	111	105	106	100.3
Consumer goods	96	101	104	100.2
Electric power	95	100	100	100
Coal	102	102	105	100
Petroleum	116	102	103	100

Iron and steel me-				
tallurgy	111	100	99	100
Non-ferrous me-				
tallurgy	108	101	105	100
Non-metals	110	104	100	100
Metal industry	107	101	106	100
Electric engineering				
industry	97	100	100	100
Chemical industry	103	100	101	100
Constructional mate-				
rials industry	116	102	109	100
Timber industry	144	116	113	100
Paper industry	110	101	102	100
Textile industry	85	102	109	101
Leather and shoe				
industry	113	102	102	100.4
Rubber industry	99	103	101	103
Food industry	106	102	107	100
Tobacco industry	99	100	99	100
Forest exploitation	161	106	126	104

The prices of some industrial goods in March this year registered the following increase as compared to December 1954: coal 2%, petroleum derivatives 2%, cement 12%, timber products 16%, forest exploitation 6%, constructional materials 2%, metal industry 1%, paper 1%, textile 2%, leather 2%, rubber 3% and food industry 2%.

Cement and timber prices marked the strongest upward trend in the first quarter of this year. This is doubtless due to the slight decline of cement output, the reduced exploitation of conifer forests in the same period, as well as increased demand of these articles by building enterprises, which are preparing for a lively building season.

Notwithstanding the price increase registered, the market supplies of industrial goods are on the whole satisfactory, owing primarily to the comparatively high level of output.

Thus the turnover of goods in the wholesale and the retail trade was 33% higher than in the corresponding period last year. Although higher prices of goods have been noted, the turnover rose substantially in the first quarter of this year. This indicates a notable increase of consumption, as compared to last year.

Many difficulties which beset economy and private consumers in the course of 1954 owing to the shortage of electric power have now been alleviated and partially eliminated. The balance achieved will also be maintained, provided this year's investment construction proceeds at an even rate as foreseen. However, if the construction of electric plants lags behind that of the other capacities, the present balance may be disturbed at a certain point.

Coal market supplies are on the whole satisfactory, while the demand for lignite for wide consumption has slackened, and the supply is normal.

In spite of the shortage in the metal industry of some types of iron and steel drawn and rolled products, which resulted in a slight price increase, there are large surpluses of various tools, kitchen and tableware (50%), nails (32%), springs, coils and rivets (27%), bicycles (22%), and household utensils (scales, meat mincing machines, etc.).

In spite of the slightly higher price level and the higher income of the population due to the increase of employment, substantially larger quantities of consumer goods are available on the market, thus markedly contributing to an improvement in the standard of living. Hence the consumers were far better provided with all types of textiles (cheviot, rayon, and cotton fabrics) shoes and other fancy goods, as well as household articles (furniture, thermal appliances etc.) in the first quarter of this year.

In view of the present price trend and the level of industrial output achieved during the first quarter of this year, and notwithstanding a certain increase in the prices of industrial goods, all prospects point to the slowing down of the upward price trend. This is also indicated by the fact that wholesale prices rose by a mere 0.2% in March, which testifies to the stabilisation of prices of industrial goods already achieved and impending.

This brief survey of industrial output in the beginning of this year testifies to the further progress of Yugoslav industry.

A Little Statistics: Culture and Art in Yugoslavia

In this and the following issues we are going to review several of the more interesting chapters from the publication of the Federal Statistical Office „The Yugoslav Statistical Annual 1954“. In this issue we bring a summary of the Chapter on Culture and Art.

AS a rule, figures are apt to be very dull. Apparently uninteresting, they often remain unknown in their isolated world: it seems to us that we can do without them and they without us. We remain thus unaware of our mistake until we try to penetrate into their mysterious world. It is only then that prejudices disappear and they reveal to us the continuity and dynamism of development in all spheres of political, economic, cultural and social life which surround us and in which we participate or observe.

It is with such thoughts that we turn the pages of the Yugoslav Statistical Annual which refer to the cultural and artistic life in Yugoslavia. The figures reveal a wealth of changes in the cultural sphere in the 1939 — 1953 period. This period also marks the creation and development of Yugoslavia as a socialist country: namely that historical process in which a specific cultural revolution which introduced new conceptions, standards and relations in the spiritual life of our peoples took place parallel with the other historical events on our soil, could be summarised as follows: culture has been made accessible to the people. The numbers cited below, in their special language of synthesis, speak of the various forms and expressions of cultural and artistic advancement in post-war Yugoslavia. Contemplated in their dynamism and fundamental tendencies, they enable one to estimate the qualitative and quantitative achievements in this field so far, and reveal the future trends and prospects.

People's and workers' universities: Among the numerous effective forms of cultural education of the Yugoslav working people, people's and workers' universities occupy a special place. The live word has always been the most easily understandable regardless of the level of their formal education and their actual knowledge. Statistical data indicate that there were 838 people's universities in 1953. Lectures were held both according to fixed schedules over a certain period of time, or from time to time and their sum total exceeds 17,000. These lectures were attended by 2,064,000 persons. Workers' universities which numbered 15 in 1953, were mainly established in larger industrial centres. 722 lectures were delivered attended by 115,000 persons. The persons who frequented the people's and workers' universities had the opportunity

of getting acquainted with various scientific, cultural and artistic, political and social subjects and problems, often illustrated by shorter documentary films and other media, without which the lectures might have been abstract.

Libraries: It is superfluous to dwell on the importance and function of libraries: they are an objective criterion of the cultural level of every people, and due attention has been devoted to these institutions in Yugoslavia in the post-war years. The figures cited below refer to scientific, public and school libraries. There were 617 public and scientific libraries (of which 248 in Serbia, 252 in Croatia, 33 in Slovenia, 41 in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 42 in Macedonia and 9 in Montenegro). There were over 6,200 public libraries of which 4420 were without reading rooms. It is interesting to note their structure with regard to the number of books. The libraries with up to 250 books were the most numerous (1,891), followed by those with up to 500 books (1,176). In view of our conditions however, there was a considerable number of well stocked libraries, thus for instance 124 libraries had over 5,000 copies of various works. School libraries were the most numerous, however, and totalled over 20,000 of which 10,568 were for pupils and 9,857 for the teaching staff.

Museums: Treasuries of various forms of national wealth, museums play an important part in the cultural education of the people. The state devoted the necessary attention to these institutions and did not spare the financial means required to enable the completion and expansion of their collections at least to a certain extent. The number of museums in Yugoslavia rose from 63 in 1939 to 177 in 1953. The museums could be divided into natural science museums (12), economic and technological (4), socio-historical (96), local (43), and artistic (22). In the socio-historical group 8 museums are dedicated to the people's liberation war, 13 to the historical past, 4 to city collections, 13 to archeological relics, 7 to ethnography, 3 to the theatre, 34 to cultural and historical events etc.

Theatres: In view of the comparatively recent theatrical tradition and thanks largely to state subsidies theatre life marked a particularly rapid progress in the post-war period. In the 1938/39 season Yugoslavia had 24 theatres with 19,628 seats which gave 4,233 performances attended by 1,421,000 persons. In the 1952/53 season the number of theatres marks an almost three-fold increase having risen to 71. The number of seats also rose notably (36,599) as well as that of performances (13,346) and theatre-goers (5,148,000). These data cover only professional and semi-professional theatres, while not including the numerous drama groups which developed a lively activity on an

amateur basis both in rural and urban areas.

Cinemas: The number of permanent cinemas also registered a substantial increase in spite of the severe shortage of housing space which ought to be borne in mind in this context. As compared to 1939, the number of cinemas has been more than trebled having risen from 413 to 1,313, while the number of seats rose from 132,346 to 391,821. The number of visitors rose from 20,000,000 to 67,829,000. In the post-war years, cinematography reached even the most remote parts of our country enabling even the culturally most backward strata to become well acquainted with it. The mobile cinegroups which tour out-of-the-way villages and give selected movie programmes which are easily understandable even for illiterate audiences also doubtless contributed in this respect.

Radio: The Yugoslav radio service still lags behind the level reached in other countries despite the appreciable increase of the number of broadcasting stations during the past few years. Today broadcasting stations are operating in all the republican capitals and some other industrial and cultural centres. Before the war only Belgrade, Zagreb, Ljubljana and Sarajevo had radio stations. Today this number has risen to fourteen of which 7 stations operate in Serbia, 5 in Croatia, 2 in Slovenia, 1 in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 2 in Macedonia and 1 in Montenegro. The number of radio subscribers rose from 155,133 in 1939 to 417,779 in 1953. Before the war there was one radio set per every 100 citizens, today this ratio has been changed to 1 radio per every 41 citizens.

Books and Brochures: Publishing activities can be contemplated from several aspects, of which all are more or less equally important in assessing the Yugoslav policy and its achievements. It should primarily be noted that number and circulation of books and publications testifies to an extremely well developed and intensive publishing activity. In almost all the post-war years the number of books published ranged from 3,400 to 5,200 works. Annual circulation was never less than 20,000,000 copies, while sometimes exceeding the 30 million mark. The proportion between the publication of Yugoslav and foreign literature can be seen from the 1953 data when 3,839 books and brochures by Yugoslav authors were published (circulation 18,251,000) and 626 books and brochures by foreign authors (circulation 3,199,000). The greatest number of works were printed in the Serbo-Croat, Slovene and Macedonian language. 3,199,000). The greatest number of publications in the languages of the national minorities. Czechoslovak, Italian, Hungarian, Rumanian, Russian, Ruthene, Shqiptar, Turkish, and many other languages, English, French, German, Esperanto etc. should also be noted. In 1953, 468 works with a circulation of 1,744,000 copies were published in these languages.

The data released by the Yugoslav Federal Statistical Office indicate the dynamism of the cultural advancement in our country which is commensurate with the other great achievements in the building up of socialism.

R. MITROVIC

ART AND CRITICISM

Andrija PREGER

VISITS OF FOREIGN MUSICIANS

ASKED about the pieces he had chosen for his American coast-to-coast tour, the young Austrian pianist Friedrich Gulda answered: „The same ones that I play everywhere”. An explanation followed immediately. The twenty-four year old artist, already famous throughout the world, whose renderings of 32 of Beethoven's sonatas have been recorded on discs, is well conversant with the essence of concert life over the entire globe. „We play for small islands”, he continued. These islands are the nuclei of the music-loving public, the circles of amateurs and admirers who will gather to listen, who are not discouraged by the less comprehensible parts of many compositions, as they wish to make, and actually do make, a conscious effort to grasp them. Stefan Zweig, in his posthumous work „The World of Yesterday”, described in vivid terms the foundation and creation of the „Insel-Verlag” publishing enterprise — whose name was chosen as a symbol. It was for lovers of art, for admirers, for the select few — for those who wish to probe into the secrets of literature — for the island in the wide sea of the general public, that this publishing house was founded. But these islands can multiply. They can expand, just as they can shrink, reduce their life to a bare existence and even disappear altogether. The dynamics of cultural development can be measured by the appearance, strengthening, expansion and rise of such cultural nuclei. Though far from believing that the actual value of certain cultural manifestations can be expressed in terms of figures, I think it should nonetheless be emphasized that the milieu, scope, and cultural climate, create conditions for the progress of culture and art. That these cultural islands, the nuclei of artistic activity of every kind, are intensively on the rise in our country can be gathered by scrutinizing every field of activity, including the sphere of musical life.

The traditions are deep and rich. There is hardly any need to dwell on the Renaissance composers in Dalmatia; it is sufficient to mention the Academia Philharmonicorum, founded in 1702, which recently celebrated its 250th anniversary, the Croatian Music Institute, founded in 1827, which was half the age of the former in 1952 — one eighth of a thousand years! But the regions of Yugoslavia east of Croatia and Slovenia cannot maintain that they had an equally rich musical past.

A characteristic of the post-war development in our country is the appearance of ever new music centres, which are constantly founding institutions and schools, training music experts, and creating an ever-widening circle of active amateurs and lovers of music. Besides the republican centres, some other smaller places are becoming the nurseries of musical life, so that one may speak of the spreading of musical culture in the real sense of the term — of formation of new nuclei of musical activity, which will constantly gain in quality and intensity. This flourishing of music has been greatly encouraged by the broad understanding and assistance extended by the new authority, which particularly encourages drama, and develops musical education and broadcasting by the establishment of nume-

rous radio stations. The number of opera houses is double that of before the war, i. e., increased from five to ten. This tendency to expansion has certainly some unfavourable aspects. Forces are being dispersed. We must say frankly that the artistic level of our opera before the war was on the whole higher than it is today. But, on the other hand, today the whole personnel of these institutions is purely national, and we daily see the creation of new cadres of singers, instrumentalists, conductors and directors. The audiences are no longer content with mere spectacles, mere music, as they were directly after the war: they show a more fastidious taste and have raised their demands and sharpened their criterion. What is now wanted is more varied repertoires and a higher artistic level of execution.

Numerous appearances of foreign artists, in addition to regular concerts by Yugoslav performers, constitute a component part of our musical life and essentially contribute to its present aspect. Above all, these visits come as a refreshment to our opera and concert platform bringing new, unknown creations and interpretations; they are an excellent criterion for measuring our own achievements in this field, and at the same time constitute one of the significant factors in the acquaintance and rapprochement with many nations and countries, by deepening friendships through exchange and cooperation in the field of culture.

Last season was rich in appearances of foreign artists. A number of Yugoslav opera houses arranged for a large number of opera singers to appear in several Yugoslav towns which is an infrequent occurrence even in those countries which boast a much richer musical tradition than Yugoslavia. The famous Swedish tenor, Jussi Björling, sang in Zagreb and Belgrade, filling the audiences and connoisseurs with admiration for his beautiful voice and his fine technique in the role of Rodolpho in „Bohème”. The performance of the „Bohème”, given on this occasion by the Belgrade Opera under the direction of Krešimir Baranović, was on a high level as a whole, so that this great singer naturally found his place in the ensemble. The tenor of the Vienna State Opera Helge Roswaenge visited Zagreb and Belgrade, as well as Sarajevo, Rijeka and Ljubljana, where he showed his high vocal and musical culture. The third tenor to visit Yugoslavia, the Italian singer, Giorgio Kokorili Bardi, is now nearing the completion of his extensive tour of this country. Bardi sang in seven opera houses. The negro soprano, Leonora Lafayette (USA), won the sympathies of the Yugoslav public with the warm timbre of her voice and its rich expressiveness especially in the role of Aida, and when she sang the „negro spirituals” which are so popular in our country.

She too sang in six places, including the Dubrovnik Summer Festival, which is now becoming quite international in character. Among other singers we may mention the baritone, Bernard Lefort from Paris, who came to return the visit to his city of our bass, Čangalović. Lefort gave three concerts. He was accompanied on the piano by the grey-haired composer Germaine Tailleferre, member of the famous French group of „Six” to which belonged Honegger,

Millant, Poulenc. We had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with her attractive personality at an interesting lecture given by her in the early days of the group of „Six”. The neighbouring countries sent us the opera singers Zoe Vlahopoulou (Greece), Neli Karova, and Miša Popov (Bulgaria) while Aleksandar Pirogov (USSR), who played the principal role in the excellent film version of the opera „Boris Godunov” appeared in the role of Boris, and in that of Prince Galitzky in the opera „Prince Igor”. Pirogov's latest interpretations made a strong impression on all those who heard him. One of the forthcoming events is the appearance of Eleanor Stoeber, a member of the Metropolitan Opera.

I think I shall not be far wrong in saying that the culmination of the whole season in the field of opera was Gershwin's „Porgy and Bess”, in December last year. It was a veritable triumph. Regrettably, this unique troupe appeared only for three days each, in Zagreb and Belgrade, although they could have stayed, judging by the interest they aroused, for a month or more, and the houses would have been sold out to the last seat. We admit of course that the negro cast and the name of the composer attracted the public to begin with, and they expected sensation and amusement. But real art appeared instead — deep and warm, saturated with humanity, with an incomparable artistry of production and acting, full of musical feeling and spontaneity of expression, naturalness and conviction. We attended a performance of real, moving drama, created with unusual artistic power. The public left the house with unforgettable impressions, stirred by a great artistic experience. The critics unanimously paid tribute to the work and performers and showed their full appreciation of an achievement which, in Paris is still looked upon as an „operetta”.

The visits of foreign opera troupes have a tradition of long standing in our country. The latter part of the seventeenth century saw the appearance on several occasions of opera companies in Ljubljana, the first appearance of this kind taking place in 1660, ten years before the appearance of the Italian Opera in Paris. The „Porgy and Bess” troupe continues this tradition which, after the war, was maintained only through the inter-republican visits of opera ensembles. The same season saw the visit of the Vienna „Burgtheater” and the „Théâtre National Populaire” of Paris, as part of this activity, which is reciprocal and is to be warmly greeted.

Symphony orchestras provide a similar example. Parallel with the operas, post-war development has also recorded the creation of symphony orchestras in opera centres, which regularly nurture this type of music. Today there are over ten symphony orchestras in Yugoslavia. They constitute the backbone of the concert life in the country. But interest in this branch has existed for a long time, ever since the period when only amateur and semi-amateur orchestras were to be met with. Beethoven himself sent a copy of one of his symphonies to the Philharmonia in Ljubljana. In more recent times, the first appearance of a foreign symphony orchestra in Zagreb was that of the Czech Philharmonia, which gave two concerts in 1902, performing the works of Dvorak, Smetana, Bizet, Schubert, Fibiich and Tchaikovsky, under the direction of V. Celansky. Next year saw the appearance in Zagreb of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, under the leadership of Richard Strauss himself, when the works of Bruckner (Third Symphony), Wagner, Tchaikovsky, Bruneau and Strauss were performed. These companies later revisited Zagreb. After the last war our country was visited by the orchestra of Vienna symphonists with the late Clemens Krauss. It performed two exemplary programmes in several Yugoslav cities. The Bamberg symphony group were the first performers from Germany to appear in our country after the war. Under the leadership of Joseph Keilberth, they in no way betrayed the high level of their country's best orchestras. Their concerts in Ljubljana, Zagreb and Belgrade, devoted to the works of German classics and Romanticists, profoundly impressed us. Under the impression of the cultural value of German music, we could not but think what a pity it was that this nation of musicians and philosophers had ceased to function as such. The consequences cannot be ignored. The lead in music has long since passed into other hands, and it would be difficult now to regain it.

Besides singers and large ensembles, a series of composers, pianists and violinists displayed their art to Yugoslav audiences, including the well-known composer, Pančo Vladigerov (who appeared together with other Bulgarian artists performing his latest works). Old acquaintances of

our concert-going public, the Finnish conductor Tauno Hannikainen and the Turkish conductor Dzemal Rechid appeared in several places. The well-known Italian master of the piano and baton, Carlo Zecchi, conducted in Zagreb and Ljubljana. The beginning of the season saw the appearance as guests from the USA, of George Byrd (in Dubrovnik and Zagreb) and Jonathan Sternberg (in Belgrade). Ljubljana was visited by the English conductor John Hopcroft, who conducted the Vienna Tonskuenstler-Orchestra, Dr Gustav Koslik, who scored a big success. The Brazilian conductor, Eleazar de Carvalho, visited Yugoslavia for the second time, on this occasion conducting four of our orchestras. Thanks to his dynamic interpretation, he had an outstanding success with the works of de Falla and his compatriot, Hector Vila Lobos. But the greatest conducting success was scored by the Swiss conductor, Igor Markiewicz, who appeared in Belgrade and Zagreb. His renderings of Brahms Fourth Symphony, and especially Ravel's Second Suite from the „Daphnis and Chloe” ballet, were put on record as the brightest moments of the concert season — for their dynamism, elan of musical execution, and lavish richness of colour.

Among the twelve pianists who appeared in our country this season, some were unusually good. Here too we are following the best traditions of the past. In 1815 Zagreb greeted the famous Johann Nepomuk Hummel and in 1846 Franz Liszt himself, who came to give concerts, not to mention the great masters who visited Yugoslavia between the two wars. But this season is rich also in the artistic significance of the guests and in the number of their appearances. The young Italian, Aldo Ciccolini, who appeared in four cities, conquered the public with his truly poetic performance. His rendering of Beethoven's Fourth piano concerto, as well as Tchaikovsky's B-minor concerto, still linger in the memory of all his hearers. The Austrian Friedrich Gulda, amazed us with his knowledge and classical precision, while the Frenchman Samson François astonished us with the demoniacal quality of his art, and with a lightness of touch such as one rarely experiences. Our regular guest and a favourite of the public, Monique de la Bruchollerie, again showed her brilliant execution in playing the Rhapsody on the Paganini theme by Rahmaninoff. She gave ten concerts in Yugoslavia. In Halina Czerny-Stefanska, the Polish pianist — the winner of the last but one Chopin Prize, we came to know an artist of fine lyrical qualities, with a rich dynamic scale which favours quiet registers, while the Hungarian pianist, Annie Fischer, showed her great virtuosity in adapting herself to the most diverse styles with conviction and elementary force. Her interpretation of Bartok was a veritable masterpiece. The guests from Greece, the woman pianist, Vaso Devetzi, and the pianist, Tonis Georgiu successfully testified to the fine level of execution of their country's musical art, as did also the Turkish pianist, Aisha Gül Sarich. The concerts of the famous pianist, Emil Gilels (USSR), who is coming to Yugoslavia for the first time, are eagerly awaited by the public.

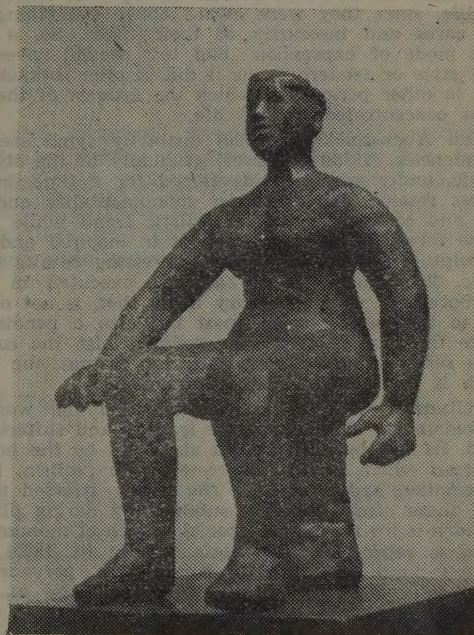
And, finally a galaxy of brilliant violinists crowned the closing of the season with the most striking successes — a season which was opened in such an elegant and distinguished manner by the violoncellist, Pierre Fournier. In addition to the French violinist, Robert Soetens, our country was visited by the German, Gerhard Taschner, and the Brazilian, Oscar Borgert. But some of the best concerts of the season were undoubtedly the violin recitals of Henrik Szering, Arthur Grumiaux and the unsurpassed Isaac Stern. Szering, a naturalized Mexican, impressed the audience with his noble purity of style in rendering the works of the classics, the romanticists and the moderns, but above all with his extraordinary interpretation of Bach. Grumiaux showed the full elegance and perfection of his art in a serious programme, consisting of four sonatas. The volcanic temperament of Isaac Stern, without ever leaving the stylistic framework, of the works executed revealed the internal intensity of his music while the joy and lightness of his execution gave rise to tremendous enthusiasm. His art eclipsed even the best performances that we had already heard.

But the variety of personalities is one of the main features of the beauty of art. Every artist carries in himself something personal, something characteristic, which makes his art what it actually is. And the greatest attraction of these visits lies precisely in the acquainting us with this many-sidedness, this magic of different natures, temperaments, styles, interpretations.

YUGOSLAV SCULPTURE TODAY

WHEN the art of an environment or of a nation is discussed, it is not amiss to mention the historical and social conditions in which that environment or nation developed. In the case of Yugoslav sculpture I feel this is inevitable, even though the survey is as condensed as the present one. Firstly, because certain ethical ideals, which depend on historical factors, have found expression in Yugoslav sculpture more than in any of the other branches of art; secondly, because distinctive sculptural traditions have been thriving in Yugoslavia for several decades. To speak of traditions, is to speak of the past. Hence, in dealing with modern sculpture in Yugoslavia, it is absolutely necessary to deal also with the immediate past, historical and artistic, particularly so since the older sculptors are still present and, with the younger ones, are shaping the profile of present-day Yugoslav art.

Early in the century, Yugoslavia was still divided. The greater part of it was Austro-Hungarian territory, a second part was independent, while a third part was held by the Turks. The most outstanding Yugoslav personages of that time never for a moment ignored the principal ideal of the period: the unification of the Yugoslavs in a common state. More strongly than in any other field of spiritual creativity, this ideal found expression in the sculpture of Ivan Meštrović (b. 1833). His was a sculpture which also in form corresponded to the national ideal to which it was devoted. Stylized and monumental, it presented ideas in human form, and the concrete aspirations of a nation in Dinaric man as a type. Meštrović's sculptures were sufficiently free in style not to mix the symbol of strength with sentimentality; sufficiently synthetic in observation of movement to keep the idea from failing to convey its message. However, after the unification, as Joseph Strzигowsky rightly observed as he wrote of the church of „Gospa od Andjela“, which Meštrović had projected and decorated (1920—1922), one might have expected the artist to be hailed by the whole nation, and his creative powers to be engaged to a maximum in executing public monuments. But, what happened was the usual thing after a goal has been reached: the enthusiasm which had made it possible to reach the goal suddenly vanished — after unification was achieved, people were less exhilarated by the abstract idea of unity, and after the victory

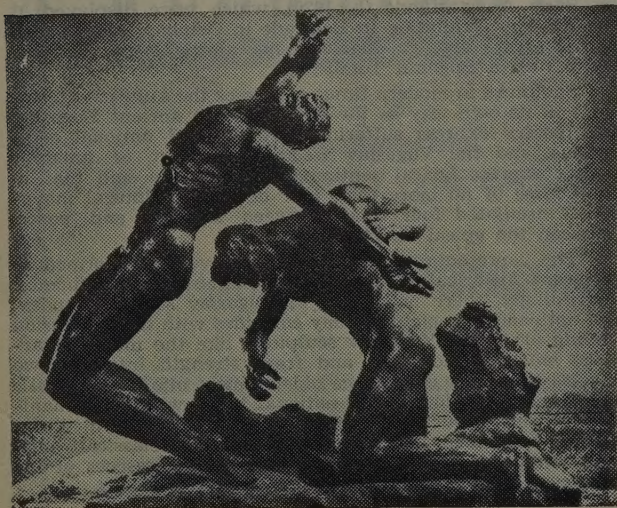


Kosta Angeli-Radovani: *The Equilibrist*

less impressed by heroic myths; in a word, life continued along its course and brought new problems.

An artist whose work resembles Meštrović's style is Toma Rosandić (b. 1878), who developed as a sculptor side by side with him. Notwithstanding their similarity, Rosandić is distinguished by a deeper tenderness of spirit and artisan modesty in his treatment of wood, his favourite medium. Meštrović's work and his later pedagogical activity have given Yugoslav sculpture strong impetus, and his influence is still present. But before we refer to those who modelled their idiom under his influence, it is necessary to deal with that other movement, which in a fashion constitutes a counterweight in Yugoslav art: face to face with affected nationalism and religious philosophy stands tender poetry, intimate and pure. After the turbulent pre-war period and the war itself, in which generations gave everything they had for national ideals, came that natural and simple feeling of life, in the beauty of nature and human form. The sculptors who made their appearance after the first world war demonstrated the character of the Mediterranean and its cheerfulness in the spirit of their best creations. The emotional sensibility of the world was accompanied by a keen feeling for material. Petar Palavičini (b. 1887) and Frano Kršinić (b. 1897) distinguished themselves with marble and bronze, Risto Stijović (b. 1894) mostly with wood; his birds in marble and in silver-plated bronze are no less meritorious. Sreten Stojanović (b. 1896) mostly worked with bronze.

Kršinić is a highly distinctive representative of the lyrical attitude in art. He is as partial as the ancient Greeks to the human form. He attains the full plasticity of his figures, devoid of linearity and psychological or ideal redundancy, in gently curving forms, with deep tenderness and fresh childish sensibility. His most frequent motif is the nude female figure, and white marble his favourite material. His bas-relief *The Fishermen* is in a way an exception as a motif; but it is extremely significant as an example of application of the classical and bu-



Vanja Radauš: *Memorial to the Fallen Fighters* (Villefranche de Rouergue, France)

colic character of his sculpture to a motif from everyday life.

But, the trend towards monumental expression and dramatic subject-matter, once so marked and sustained by the national ideal, soon found its deep *raison d'être* again. The period between the two wars was a period of special difficulties for Yugoslavia. It was a period in which social problems, difficult and involved in a community already fraught with unsolved national problems, were being raised in all their acuteness. Artists soon appeared to whom it seemed that bare formal beauty was too remote from life, since they were aware above everything else of the cares and insecurity of their times. So, a keen realistic mode of expression had to prevail over the abstract style or tenderness, as it did in other branches of art and in other periods, in which the interest of the creator was concentrated on real life.

Antun Augustinčić (b. 1900) distinctly symbolizes the new tendencies. Ridding himself gradually of the style of Meštrović, under whom he developed for a time, he nevertheless retained his taste for monumentality and dynamics, and so perpetuated an artistic trend while becoming the forerunner of a movement in inspired and realistic sculpture, which has given interesting results up to our time. The monument at Zaječar, executed in 1940, which represents a revolutionary being shot, is not only a tribute to the heroes of the past but also a penetrating look into the near future. Augustinčić is also the composer of a series of significant equestrian statues, the latest of which is the United Nations monument.

Solicitude has especially emerged in the work of Vanja Radauš (b. 1906) out of the tragedy and suffering of mankind. He has been impressed above all by the horrors of the war, which he has expressed with realism, inspiration, emotion and dynamics. The highly stressed movement of these compositions is subdued by daring play of mass, which is his manner. A special branch of monumental sculpture is represented by Boris Kalin (b. 1905), also Meštrović's pupil. His realistic figures are pervaded by profound calm, beneath which throbs the pulse of flesh and blood.

The peaceful development evident in all fields of social life today also reflects upon the new strivings of the artists. Almost all the younger sculptors had developed in the spirit of realism and impressionistic execution, which was especially intensive during the post-war years. In the new conditions and with the new objectives before them, however, they feel that it is necessary to seek new modes of expression. Yugoslav sculpture again demonstrates signs of revival, in which there is lyrical beauty, style and hieratic peace as opposed to the dynamics and drama of earlier works. It appears that the majority of the younger sculptors are confronted by the problem of reassessing all the factors characteristic of sculpture. Instead of the realistic interpretation of detail, they are out after generalized, simplified, synthetic formulae as media of expression; and instead of bronze, which is resilient to any mood of the sculptor, they are again resorting to materials more resistant, such as stone, wood and terracotta.

The deep motives evoking such developments are eloquent in the work of Vojin Bakić (b. 1915). From impressionistic execution, which is reminiscent of Rodin's, he has proceeded to a new style. It so happened that his sketch of a monument to Jovan Jovanović-Zmaj, the great Serbian nineteenth-century poet, provoked a keen discussion, and offered public opinion a broader foundation for judging beauty. Like other new works by this sculptor, the sketch was regarded architectonically in its mass, to which the simple planes add a feeling of stability, duration and calm. Nothing is more logical than to have someone say that this constructivist style concurs with the general effort of construction in the public and economic life of the country. Firm balance seems to be the principal inspiration of one of the youngest sculptors, Dušan Džamonja (b. 1928). His three figures were originally named Serenity.

Joy of living is also one of the themes of the day. Is it not evident in the innocent Children's Games by Zdenko Kalin (b. 1911), or in the tenderness of the figures composed



Olga Jančić: A Reminiscence to a Bogumil „Stechak”

by František Smerdu (b. 1908), or in the cheerful renditions by Savinšek? It especially fills the present succinct forms executed by Karel Putrih, who has already given some realistic busts which are the result of keen observation. In general it is necessary to emphasize that the art of portraiture has been given every attention by most of the Yugoslav sculptors during the past several decades. Its modern form, with its careful psychology and with the firm features of its condensed style, is distinguished by examples of terracottas by Kosta Angeli Radovani (b. 1916) and heads by Olga Jevrić conceived to be executed in stone. Angeli Radovani is also the composer of major and minor figures of classical serenity and strength. Although he is regarded as a follower of Italian sculpture, he is really the most outstanding representative of a style which blends the lyrical traditions of a Kršinić and modern monumental architecture. Among the latest accomplishments which merit attention is the sensual Torso by Ana Bešlić and the elegant Swan by Boris Anastasijević (b. 1926), which were displayed at the Autumn Exhibition in Belgrade in October 1954, as well as the essays of Olga Jančić in her almost brutal Reminiscences on a Bogumil Tombstone.

Sculpture in modern times expresses the same manifestations in its own way as the epic cycles in ancient Yugoslav folk poetry express suffering, struggle and national aspirations, and the Yugoslav wedding, harvest or amatory poems express lyrical sentiments. It may be said that in the course of no more than four decades sculptural movements oscillated four times between struggle and peace, between the epical and the lyrical.

The representatives of the four movements, formed at different historical moments, still exercise their influence. Accordingly, there is variety in Yugoslav sculpture today, but not chaos. Its picture today coincides with the expression "living art." The Yugoslav sculptors, like the medieval artists, have instilled new and fresh strength into the two big trends which exist since olden times: into that realistic and dynamic, volcanic and national trend which has manifested itself in such an interesting manner on the medieval tombstones called „stechaks;" and into that classical, quiet and meditative trend to which some of the frescoes of the medieval Mileševa and Sopoćani monasteries belong.

JUGOTEHNA



IMPORT—EXPORT

BEOGRAD, TERAZIJE 5

Telegrams: JUGOTEHNA Bgd.

Telephones: 24-503, 24-525,
26-803, 24-116

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS UNDER THE MOST FAVOURABLE CONDITIONS:

All types of tools, ball bearings, winding material, hardware, armatures and fittings, rubber products, technical felt, industrial diamonds, technical glass, abrasive material, sanitary material, various technical material, measuring and controlling instruments, typewriters and calculating machines, various other machinery and wide consumption items.

ALSO DEALS IN REEXPORTS.

Rich assortment of goods on stock.

Agencies in Ljubljana, Zagreb, Sarajevo and Novi Sad

JUGOSTANDARD

BEOGRAD
EXPORT—IMPORT—RE-EXPORT

GENERALNO TRG. ZASTUPNIŠTVO

INTERNATIONAL COMMERCIAL AGENCY
BEOGRAD, CETINJSKA 9 PHONE 29-439

OFFICES IN:
BEOGRAD, ZAGREB, NOVI SAD AND LJUBLJANA

AGENCY OF AND IMPORT FROM

„Ducati“ - Bologna - Italy

Prescold - Oxford - England

Misal - Milano - Italy

„Varioss“ - Gronningen - Holland

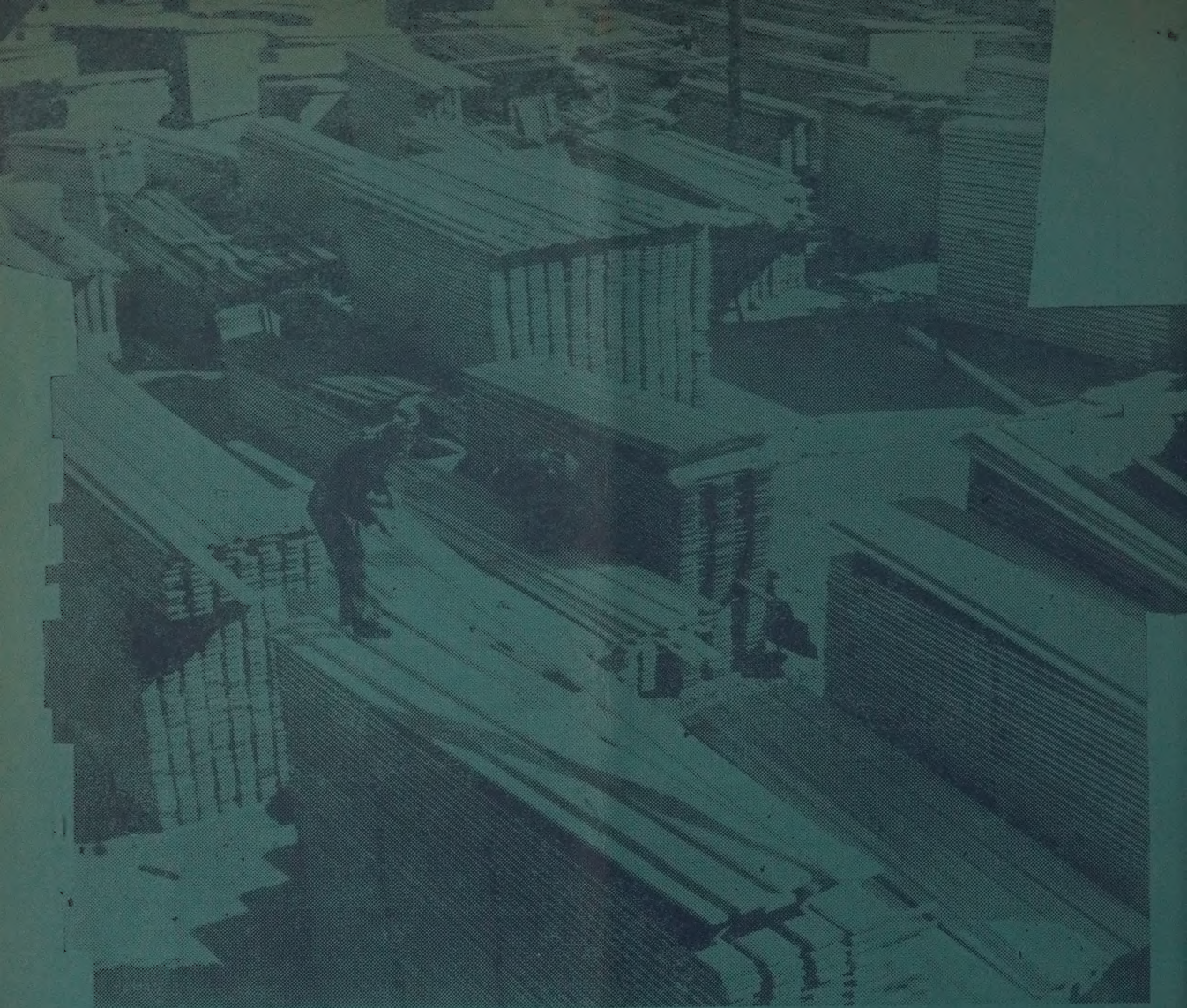
MIAG - Braunschweig - Germany

„Jucker“ - Milano - Italy

HOLZ-HER-Nurtingen-Germany

TRIUMPF - Stuttgart - Germany

etc.



JUGODRVO

TIMBER TRADE CORPORATION

Established in 1946

BEOGRAD, TRG REPUBLIKE No. 5

Cables: Jugodrvno, Beograd

Phones: 21-794, 21-795, 21-796, 21-797

Exports all kinds of timber and wood products. Offers and buys all sorts of wood on the home market. Concludes transactions with foreign dealers on behalf of producers.

Our staff is experienced in all export business and we maintain commercial contacts throughout the world

Offices at home: Zagreb, Sarajevo, Rijeka

Offices abroad: Düsseldorf, Milan, Vienna, London

Agents in: Great Britain, Italy, Holland, Greece, Turkey, Egypt, Israel



JUGODRVO